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Latin-American Studies, I

Intellectual Trends In Latin America

Papers Read at a Conference on Intellectual Trends in Latin America
Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of
The University of Texas

AUSTIN, TEXAS, APRIL 13 AND 14, 1945

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FOREWORD

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of The University of Texas inaugurates with this publication, under the general title of *Latin-American Studies,* a series of monographs and volumes in the Latin-American field, including proceedings of conferences sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies.

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TRENDS IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON
Professor of History, Emeritus, University of Illinois

In pre-Columbian days, Mayan artists depicted their astrologers observing the heavenly bodies. Tales concerning Latin America have been told from the time when its aborigenes began to commemorate sigsificant events in their songs. For decades upon decades oral traditions served the people instead of chronicles, but in time historical narratives took the place of legends. Even when so-called history began to be written, it often partook of the character of a source. When he composed an *Historical Picture* of the separation of Mexico from Spain, Carlos María de Bustamante published original documents which were interpolated with his own commentaries, his quaint conceits, and his bitter prejudices.

Although bibliographies have been printed of histories published in various countries of southern America, and although lengthy accounts have been composed concerning historical writing in one region or another, yet few attempts have been made to survey the extensive and varied field of Latin-American historiography. Among a veritable legion of historical works concerning our southern neighbors, I have chosen to consider mainly the writing of biographies and of national histories in leading continental countries. In briefly directing attention to important trends and influences among eminent Hispanic-American historians—a subject to which a portly volume would scarcely do justice—I have not been unmindful of criteria that have been applied to historians of other lands.

Various factors have affected historical writers in Latin America. In certain countries, as in Mexico, local conditions, such as the mixture of races, as well as national prejudices, have influenced authors. Bitter struggles between Church and State have at times warped the judgment of writers belonging to opposing parties. Where conflicts have occurred between neighboring countries over the title to borderlands or where hostilities have taken place, passions provoked by such conflicts have not infrequently disfigured or distorted the writings of contemporaries as well as of later historians. Aside from this, few traces can be found of influence exerted by historical writers of one Latin-American country upon another.

Springing as they did mainly from European stock, however, writers of Latin America have been influenced by the practices and the idealogy of the Old World. In Portuguese America leading historians have been much affected by literary ideals of the Motherland. Francisco de Varnhagen, the son of a German officer in the Brazilian service, received a part of his education in Portugal, where he began his career

as an author.[1] Manoel de Oliveira Lima, the son of a Portuguese merchant residing in Brazil, was sent to Lisbon to complete his education. There he sat at the feet of certain Portuguese masters whose inspiration he frankly acknowledged.[2]

Writers of Spanish America have occasionally been influenced by aspirations of Spain. A native of Saltillo named Carlos Pereyra became a champion of intimate relations between the Motherland and the Spanish nations of America.[3] Diego Barros Arana, who has been called the greatest of Chilean historians, gratefully acknowledged the influence of a French professor who taught him the classics.[4] The one-time director of the National Library of Argentina, Paul Groussac, who enjoyed the reputation of being the most widely known historical critic in Southern Latin America, was born and educated in France.[5] Guizot, as well as Buckle, evidently exerted a philosophic influence in Argentina.[6] Some fifteen years ago, an erudite historian of Buenos Aires compared the concepts of history cherished by Ernest Bernheim and Benedetto Croce.[7]

Tendencies in the writing of history in Latin America have been various. The life of an independent nation has frequently been a favorite theme. Many historians have undertaken to treat such phases of national life as political, economic, and social in the same survey. Other writers have essayed to consider a special feature of the life of a particular people, as social, military, political, constitutional, or ecclesiastical history. Some writers have limited the scope of their works to a specific period of national life. Not a few have aimed to deal with a certain phase of their nation's history during a definite period. Prominent among the periods most favored in both Spanish America and Brazil has been the heroic age from 1808 to 1824 when the people were winning independence from the motherlands. Several authors of histories of their respective nation's life have brought their narratives to a close far short of the date at which they were writing. In Latin-American countries, as in the United States, authors of historical works have not

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[1]Basilio de Magalhães, "Traços biographicos geraes," in *Revista instituto historico e geographico brasileiro*, vol. CIV, p. 894 and note.

[2]Max Fleiuss, "Oliveira Lima," *ibid.*, 829.

[3]Vito Alessio Robles, "El historiador Carlos Pereyra," in *Memorias de la academia mexicana de la historia*, vol. I, no. 1, p. 286.

[4]Ricardo Donoso, *Barros Arana, educador, historiador y hombre político* (Santiago de Chile, 1931), 29–30.

[5]"Paul Groussac," in *Journal de la société des Américanistes*, new series, vol. XXII, pp. 378–379; Juan Canter, "Contribución a la bibliografía de Paul Groussac," *Boletín del instituto de investigaciones históricas*, vol. VIII: no. 42, pp. 484–740; nos. 43–44, pp. 260–353; no. 45, pp. 337–343.

[6]Rómulo D. Carbia, *Historia de la historiografía argentina* (La Plata, 1925), 40–49 and notes.

[7]Emilio Ravignani, *Prenociones para el estudio de la historia constitucional de la república argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1930), 15–30.

always succeeded in carrying out their projects or have essentially modified them before completing their tasks. Notable histories have been composed about the literature of individual countries.

Few successful attempts have been made to enlist the coöperation of scholars in the preparation of national histories in Latin America. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century General Vicente Riva Palacio induced certain Mexican authors to aid him in the writing of a useful work entitled *Mexico Through the Centuries.*[8] A score of years later the Mexican minister of education directed a coöperative work on the social development of Mexico, which was translated into English.[9] The most systematic coöperative work on the history of one country yet undertaken by any of our southern neighbors is a *History of the Argentine Nation* prepared under the auspices of her National Academy of History, directed by the eminent historian, Ricardo Levene, and subsidized by the national government. Part one of the sixth volume of this work, composed by leading historians of Argentina and equipped with footnotes and bibliographies, has recently issued from the press.[10]

Numerous Latin-American authors have devoted themselves to the composition of national biographies. Occasionally, because of the manifold activity of the hero and the success of the biographer in the quest for documents, such lives have almost constituted a history of the age in which the chosen leader moved.

After the Argentine soldier, publicist, author, bibliophile, and journalist, Bartolomé Mitre, had assiduously gathered inedited documents concerning General José de San Martín, he was able to write a life of the Argentine Liberator which is to a large extent a history of the struggle for independence in South America.[11] One of Mitre's fellow-countrymen, a sociological writer named Ernesto Quesada, composed an interpretive volume entitled *The Age of Rosas* which has much influenced historical thought concerning that critical era of Argentine history.[12] When Joaquim Nabuco, a publicist in his own right, wrote a biography of his father, the distinguished Brazilian statesman, Nabuco de Araujo, he had access to such a fine collection of memorabilia that this work is a comprehensive account of an important chapter in the story of the Brazilian Empire.[13]

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[8]*México á través de los siglos* (5 vols., Barcelona, n.d.).

[9]Justo Sierra, *México, su evolución social* (2 vols. in 3, Mexico, 1900–1902).

[10]*Historia de la Nación Argentina desde sus orígenes hasta la organización definitiva en 1862* (Buenos Aires, 1936–). On Levene, see Percy A. Martin, *Who's Who in Latin America* (Stanford, 1940), 275–277.

[11]*Historia de San Martín y de la emancipación sud-americana, según nuevos documentos* (3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1887–1888).

[12]This work by Ernesto Quesada was reprinted in *La época de Rosas con una introducción sobre la evolución social argentina (Facultad de filosofía y letras, publicaciones del instituto de investigaciones históricas,* no. XVIII, Buenos Aires, 1923).

[13]Joaquim Nabuco, *Um estadista do imperio: Nabuco de Araujo, sua vida, suas opinões, sua época* (3 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1897).

As a not inconsiderable portion of the history of the Spanish-American nations has been concerned with domestic and foreign wars, a number of biographies have naturally dealt with politico-military leaders. A charge that can properly be brought against some of these accounts is not only that they are inclined to hero worship but also that they have not always been based upon a thorough study of the sources. Although at the instance of Pedro Ibañez and Eduardo Posada, in 1902 the government of Colombia published the first volume of a series designed to make available inedited works to historical students,[14] yet a decade later a Colombian historian complained that despite the fact that General Santander had played an important rôle in the history of his country, not a single one of his panegyrists had actually "studied his writings."[15]

Indeed many important documents concerning Santander's career had never been published. In spite of the praiseworthy labors of such scholars as Vicente Lecuna of Venezuela—who later carefully edited correspondence of Santander and Bolívar[16]—There still remain serious gaps in the printed sources of South-American history. Despite the scholarly efforts of Genaro García, who edited a useful series of original documents,[17] and despite the publication of diplomatic and other papers by the government of Mexico, this lack is keenly felt by foreign students of the history of that country.

In Mexico such writers as Silvio Zavala and Vito Alessio Robles have set good examples in the method of historical writing. Yet some historical works published there and in other countries of Latin America which purport to advance the frontiers of knowledge are still woefully deficient in what standard practice considers to be the indispensable critical apparatus in the form of bibliographies and footnotes. Indeed to certain Mexican authors, in particular, the proper historical technique seems to be almost unknown.

Though a large number of Latin-American historians have devoted themselves to the composition of biographies or of national histories, only a few of them have undertaken to write about all the independent nations of the New World. As early as 1865, expressing regret that there was no book of this character, Barros Arana undertook to compose a work which would fill the gap. Accordingly he wrote a history which in two volumes told the story of the American countries through the establishment of their independence.[18] Carlos A. Villanueva, an official in the foreign service of Venezuela who stressed unduly the importance of manuscript materials in the writing of history, composed

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[14] *Biblioteca de historia nacional* (Bogotá, 1902–).

[15] Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, *Archivo Santander* (Bogotá, 1913–), I, *prólogo*, p. 1.

[16] On Vicente Lecuna, see Martin, *op. cit.*, 271–272.

[17] *Documentos inéditos y muy raros para la historia de México* (36 vols., Mexico, 1905–1911).

[18] *Historia de América* (vols. I and II of the *Obras completas de Diego Barros Arana*, Santiago de Chile, 1908).

a one-volume history of America which did not include Canada.[19] Carlos Pereyra undertook single-handed to write a detailed account of the Spanish-American countries.[20] At the present day the most comprehensive history of the Latin-American nations is the recent, coöperative work edited by Levene. In fourteen volumes this *History of America* presents an individual story of each American nation as narrated by one of her own historians. This series also contains an index, bibliographies for each of the countries, and texts of their recent constitutions.[21]

The objectives professed by Latin-American writers of history have perhaps been less varied than the influences operating upon them. Foremost with some authors has been a desire to ascertain the truth. Upon being accused of having composed the history of Mexico in order to promote the reëstablishment of monarchical government there, Lucas Alamán, the classic Mexican historian, stated that he had had no other object than to present the facts truthfully and with exactness.[22] Expressing similar sentiments, Riva Palacio declared that it would not be fair to judge the men of the sixteenth century by standards of the nineteenth century.[23] In the conclusion to his monumental history of Chile, Barros Arana declared that he had "always sought the truth" and that he had "spared no effort or sacrifice in order to discover it. . . ."[24]

In the preface to his *Constitutional History of Venezuela*, which, in describing the struggles for independence, reached a fine height, the talented author, José Gil Fortoul, chided his gifted compatriot Rafael M. Baralt for having composed a military history of that country;[25] and announced that he would pay considerable attention to the achievements of peace. In "the midst of innumerable combats," said Gil Fortoul, "there still were men who thought, wrote, spoke, and enacted laws; and a part of the people tilled the fields, built roads, transported products, and exported them—in fine, they conserved the constituent elements of their native land."[26] This explanation indicates how its author interpreted in a liberal fashion the subject which he had chosen to write about.

A current which much affected historical writing in South America was due directly or indirectly to ideology emanating from the Old World. Influenced by such authors as Guizot and Taine, who, in response to the positivist views of Auguste Comte, had almost been converted to the theory that history was governed by laws which determined human society, certain Argentine writers fell under the spell of what may be

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[19] *Resumen de la historia general de la América* (Paris, n.d.).

[20] *Historia de la América Española* (8 vols., Madrid, 1920–1926).

[21] *Historia de América* (14 vols., Buenos Aires, 1940–1942). A second edition of volumes IX–XIV published in 1943 brings the narrative into World War II.

[22] José C. Valades, *Alamán, estadista y historiador* (Mexico, 1938), 467.

[23] *El vireinato* (*México á través de los siglos*, vol. II), *introducción*, p. xii.

[24] *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1884–1902), XVI, 386.

[25] On Rafael Baralt and other early historians of Venezuela, see Rafael Seijas in *Primer libro venezolano de literatura, ciencias y belles artes* (Caracas, 1895), pp. i–xii.

[26] *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (vols. I and II, Berlin, 1907), I, *prefacio*, p. ix.

called a philosophic conception of history.[27] This interpretation of history was particularly noticeable in the case of José Estrada. In 1865 he virtually formulated a creed for philosophic historians. In a history of Argentina which was practically devoid of a bibliography or of footnotes, he explained that, omitting all details and investigations of a secondary character, he had written this narrative in order to teach the philosophy of history clearly and concisely.[28] Other Latin-American historians, like Gil Fortoul and Francisco García Calderón—both of whom had lived in Europe—did not escape the influence of European thinkers. An author residing in Bogotá even composed a volume entitled an *Introduction to the Study of the Philosophy of History.*

One reason why the so-called philosophic influence has been widespread in Latin America is probably because some of its important authors had not received any formal training in the technique of historical writing. Perhaps it is better to say that certain Latin-American historians were self-trained. Further, a comparatively large number of historical writers in both Spanish and Portuguese America were publicists by profession. To some of them, in a fashion reminding us of George Bancroft, the writing of history was an avocation. Among historians who served as consular or diplomatic officials of their respective governments may be mentioned Lucas Alamán, Gil Fortoul, Baron Rio Branco, and García Calderón. On one occasion, the great bibliographer and historian, José Toribio Medina, who was serving as the secretary of the Chilean legation at Madrid, was given a financial grant by his government in order to pay for the copying of historical documents from the Spanish archives.[29] Such a procedure will suggest the manner in which the study of national history has occasionally been promoted by a Latin-American government.

Certain historians of our southern neighbors have openly avowed their desire to promote a patriotic spirit. In the preface of their widely used textbook on the history of Colombia, Señores Henao and Arrubla expressed the opinion that, properly studied, history was a "true school of patriotism." They quoted approvingly the views of a Colombian littérateur who had said that "among the methods of invigorating the national spirit," not the least important would be to promote the study of the country's history.[30] In a land which still lacked a survey of its

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[27]See George B. Adams, "History and the Philosophy of History," *American Historical Review,* XIV, 229–230.

[28]*Lecciones sobre la historia de la república argentina* (vol. II of Estrada's *Obras completas,* Buenos Aires, 1896), p. v.

[29]Victor M. Chiappa, "La obra de Medina," *Revista chilena de historia y geografía,* vol. XLVII, no. 51, pp. 149–150 note. See further Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico y bibliográfico de Chile* (5 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1925–1931), IV, 240.

[30]*Historia de Colombia para la enseñanza secundaria* (2 vols., Bogotá, 1916), I, *introducción,* 3.

national history, in 1910 José de la Riva Agüero, the author of a literary history of Peru, deplored the fact that his nation had not produced such a galaxy of historical writers as had Chile. History, he declared, was a school of conduct and of judgment, a stimulus to duty and to heroism, "an ennobler of the soul, the fountain and the root of patriotism." More than in any other country, he asserted, history in Peru, was destined "to fulfill supreme national ends. . . . We might almost say," he added, "that until now our country has produced only a few chroniclers. . . ."[31]

A prominent historian who raised his voice against the use of history as an implement of patriotism was Oliveira Lima. In an article published in 1921, he complained that historical writing had been extremely nationalistic, that it had been imbued with egotistic prejudice, and overburdened with military glories. Thus it cultivated the jealousy, the resentment, and the hatred of one nation toward another.[32]

Certain historians of our southern neighbors had meanwhile been emphasizing the importance of relying upon contemporary accounts in the composition of historical narratives. Criticizing a philosophic paper about Chilean constitutional history which had been read by José Lastarria to the faculty of the College of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile, in 1847 the influential scholar, Andrés Bello, who had lived in England, warned Chileans not to become intellectual serfs of Europe. He urged students of history to evaluate the sources which they used. "Young Chileans!" he exclaimed, "learn to judge for yourselves! Aspire to independence of thought. Drink from the sources *(fuentes)*—at least from the streams *(raudales)* nearest to them. . . . Demand of each historian the basis for his statements."[33]

Barros Arana praised the views of Bello about philosophic history in 1875 in a letter to Bartolomé Mitre. Those Chileans who had dedicated themselves to the study of history, "particularly Amunátegui and myself," he declared, "have undertaken to carry on a long struggle in order to demonstrate that history which has been written without the careful study of facts and without the use of documents is entirely useless and absurd."[34] In another letter to Mitre, written after he had worked in the Spanish archives, the Chilean master said: "I am convinced that it is not possible to write the history of the conquest or of the domination by Spain of any part of America without consulting those archives."[35] By such investigations Barros Arana and José T. Medina laid broad and

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[31] *La historia en el Perú* (Lima, 1910), 548, 554. Since 1910 there has been published in Peru the work by Carlos Weisse, *Historia del Perú* (4 vols., Lima, 1925–1928).

[32] As translated into Spanish from the *Jornal do Brazil*, December 14, 1921, in Diego Carbonell, *Escuelas de historia en América* (Buenos Aires, 1943), 310.

[33] Miguel L. Amunátegui, *Vida de Don Andrés Bello* (Santiago de Chile, 1882), 553.

[34] *Archivo del General Mitre* (25 vols., Buenos Aires, 1911–1913), XX, 80.

[35] *Ibid.*, 11.

deep the foundations of historical research in Chile.[36] The example which they set stimulated the production of important works by such historians as Miguel Luis Amunátegui and his son, Domingo Amunátegui Solar.

Meanwhile in Vienna, where he was serving as the minister of Brazil, Varnhagen had also stressed the need of securing inedited documents from archives. On the title-page of his *General History of Brazil,* which was published in 1854, he explained that he had composed this work by the aid of many authentic documents secured from the archives of Brazil, Portugal, Spain, and Holland.[37] In a volume describing the struggle between the Dutch and the Portuguese in northern Brazil, this scholar stated that to ascertain the truth he had always preferred "the original sources, the books and narratives of eyewitnesses and contemporary writers, and chiefly the official correspondence, which was in large part inedited. . . ."[38] Indeed a prominent littérateur of Brazil has asserted that Varnhagen was the first historian of his country who comprehended that it was impossible to write sound history without the original documents.[39]

Shortly after this historian had begun to write, he was elected a member of the Brazilian historical and geographical institute. The *Revista* of that society eventually printed a large number of important historical documents, which included some sources that had been secured by Varnhagen and his fellow-countrymen from Spanish and Portuguese archives. In the volumes of that review there were later published some contributions from Oliveira Lima who, in such matters as the use of archival material, followed in Varnhagen's footsteps.[40] Besides studies of Brazilian diplomacy and literature, Oliveira Lima wrote a definitive biography of King John VI of Brazil. He lectured at the Sorbonne on the *Historical Formation of Brazilian Nationality.*[41]

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[36]On Medina, see Chiappa, "La obra de Medina," *loc. cit.*, vol. XLVII, no. 51, pp. 139–183 and Charles E. Chapman, *A Californian in South America* (Berkeley, 1917), pp. 32–41.

[37]*Historia geral do Brazil* (2 vols., Madrid, 1854–1857). On Varnhagen, see Claudio Ribeiro de Lessa, "Formação de Varnhagen," *Revista do instituto historico e geografico brasileiro,* clxxxi, 55–58.

[38]*Historia das lutas com os Hollandezes no Brazil desde 1624 á 1654* (Lisbon, 1872), *prefacio,* pp. viii–ix.

[39]Sylvio Romero, "A litteratura, 1500–1900," in *Livro do centenario, 1500–1900* (3 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1900), vol. I, pt. III, p. 120.

[40]Max Fleiuss, *Paginas de historia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), 478–479. On the institute, see further *ibid.*, 461–505. For the concept of history entertained by a Brazilian historian who did not get documents from the archives of Europe, see José F. do Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brasil* (10 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1905), I, *prefacio,* p. xxi.

[41]Fleiuss, "Oliveira Lima," *Revista do instituto historico e geografico brasileiro,* CIV, 822–840; Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne* (Paris, 1911). See further *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America . . . Edited with Introduction and Notes by Percy Alvin Martin* (Stanford, 1914), pp. 9–15.

A development similar to that which was elsewhere promoted by such scholars as Varnhagen and Barros Arana was started in his native land by General Mitre. As early as 1875, that general had expressed the view that a history of Argentina which had been composed by his compatriot, Vicente López, had to be used with much caution because that philosophic author wrote without much use of other than printed documents and furthermore because he was guided by preconceived ideas, often presenting a view "contrary to that which was supported by inedited documents. . . ."[42] After López had ventured to make some corrections to Mitre's biography of Manuel Belgrano, a lengthy debate began between those two authors about historiography. Elaborating his views in 1887, this biographer insisted not only that history should be written without any preconceived notions, but also that it should be based upon documentary evidence. "Without gold," wrote Mitre, "one cannot produce gold." In language resembling that used by the French historian Langlois twenty years later, he added, "one cannot write history without documents." He went on to say: "Our task is that of the laborers who hew rough stone from the quarry and also deliver it in finished form to the artist who is to construct the edifice of the future."[43]

On the other side, López set forth his views thus: "The author and the reader should not waste time in copying documents." What should be derived from them, he continued, was "the color and the movement of events," in accordance with the party and with the interests which each event has promoted or hindered in the struggles of the past."[44] At another time, he defined history as "the vision of past events as viewed from a later standpoint."[45]

The important contribution of the López-Mitre debate to Argentine historiography was not only the emphasis which Mitre laid upon the garnering of inedited documents from archives but also his insistence upon the utilization of such sources by historical writers. Whether or not he realized it, the biographer was invoking dicta set forth by the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke. In Mitre's wake there fol-

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[42] *Correspondencia literaria, histórica y política del General Bartolomé Mitre* (3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1912), II, 317. On Argentine historical writing to 1876, see Barros Arana, "Historiadores argentinos, el Jeneral Don Bartolomé Mitre," in *Revista chilena*, IV, 433–452.

[43] *Comprobaciones históricas, primera parte* (Buenos Aires, 1916), 358. On Mitre's ideas about history, see further Angel Acuña, *Mitre historiador* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1936), I, 149 ff.

[44] *Refutación á las comprobaciones históricas sobre la historia de Belgrano* (3 vols., Buenos Aires, 1916), II, 208.

[45] *Manual de la historia argentina dedicado á los profesores y maestros que la enseñan* (Buenos Aires, 1920), *introducción*, p. vii.

lowed other writers, such as Saldias and Madero, so that he has been called the founder of a school of Argentine historians.[46]

Years after Mitre had formulated a creed for his fellow-historians, certain investigators in Buenos Aires, who may not inappropriately be designated his spiritual successors, set up what has been called the "New School" of Argentine historical writers. This school developed early in the present century from a group of scholars connected with the College of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires who were at first led by Professor Luis M. Torres. The direction of the Institute of Historical Investigations, as this bureau was eventually designated, was later entrusted to Dr. Emilio Ravignani, a scholar who had been educated at the University of Buenos Aires and who subsequently published a notable work on Argentine constituent assemblies.[47] "Let us understand," this director once explained, "that history is not a truculent novelette. History should be austere. Historical judgment does not exist in order to please public opinion. . . . The historian is not a gloomy pedagogue who isolates himself from his environment. He should be in harmony with his *milieu*. Under the influence of a definite current of ideas, he ought to explain the historical phenomena which interest him."[48]

Through the publication of historical studies as well as of a valuable series of documents from foreign archives, members of this school have greatly aided serious students of Hispanic-American history.[49] By utilizing such documents, certain Argentine authors have recently been enabled to produce important historical books. Indeed it is my judgment that the leadership in historical research and writing in Latin America has passed from Brazil and from Chile to Argentina.

Historical criticism in both Spanish and Portuguese America, however, has at times lagged behind the zeal for archival investigation. An early criticism of historical writing in his native land was made by Alamán. That historian criticized the inexactness of Bustamente in describing events when he had at his elbow sources that did not bear out his own narrative.[50] In a revised edition of his book concerning the

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[46]Ricardo Levene, *Mitre y los estudios históricos en la Argentina (Cincuentenario de la academia nacional de la historia*, Buenos Aires, 1944–), I, 88–89. On Leopold von Ranke, see James W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols., New York, 1942), II, 173, 183, 186 note 64.

[47]*Asembleas constituentes argentinas seguidas de los textos constitucionales* (7 vols., Buenos Aires, 1937–1939). On Ravignani, see *Quien es Quien en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1941), 536.

[48]As quoted by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois in *Contribuciones para el estudio de la historia de América. Homenaje al Doctor Emilio Ravignani* (Buenos Aires, 1941), 13.

[49]The personnel of the *Instituto de investigaciones históricas* in 1942 is given on the last page of Gabriel A. Puentes, *Juan Felipe Ibarra, 1828–1832* (Buenos Aires, 1944). That number also contains a list of the publications of the institute.

[50]*Noticias biográficas del licenciado Don Carlos María de Bustamante y juicio crítico de sus obras, escritas por un amigo de D. Carlos y mas amigo de la verdad* (Mexico, 1849), 45. On the authorship of this pamphlet, see Valades, *Alamán*, 555.

struggles between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Brazil, Varnhagen displayed an iconoclastic spirit by declaring that love for the truth not infrequently compelled an historian to discredit cherished beliefs or illusions.[51] Similarly, in 1865, Barros Arana lauded the rôle of historical criticism which had rejected many false tales that decorated the pages of history.[52] Groussac not only belittled the useful introduction to historical study composed by Langlois and Seignobos, but also criticized certain tendencies of the New School of Argentine historians.[53] Vicente Lecuna, the eminent authority on the rôle of Bolívar in the continental struggle for Spanish-American independence, recently exposed the publication by certain Argentine writers of spurious documents which tended to enhance the fame of San Martín at the expense of the Venezuelan Liberator.[54]

Notice should be taken that an advance in historiography has been most marked in the large countries of South America. As has been shown by this survey of works of their leading historians, since 1824 significant progress has been made in those countries in the writing of history. Prominent South American authors have strongly emphasized the need of basing historical narratives upon the sources. Particularly in the A.B.C. nations, sustained attempts have been made to obtain documents from archives as well as to publish documentary collections. Latin Americans have themselves voiced warnings about the evil influence upon historical writing of patriotism, prejudice, and misleading method. Though endeavors have not been lacking to glorify important leaders and to enshrine events in glamorous traditions, yet in certain countries there have been encouraging manifestations of a critical spirit. The examples which have thus been set should eventually leaven the mass of historical writing in Latin America. As in our own country, the critical spirit should tend to correct errors, to strip away the legends which envelop historical personages, and to bring out in bold relief the manner in which events actually took place. Let us hope that these results may be accomplished by the use of such a well-implemented technique as will aid serious students of Latin-American history to ascertain the truth.

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[51] As quoted by Carbonell in *Escuelas de historia en América*, 304.

[52] "Una ilusión menos. La verdad sobre la historia de Guillermo Tell," *Revista chilena*, III, 395.

[53] *Mendoza y Garay. Las dos fundaciones de Buenos Aires, 1536–1580* (Buenos Aires, 1916), *prefacio*, p. x; Carbia, *Historia de la historiografía argentina*, 79–80.

[54] William S. Robertson, "The So-Called Apocryphal Letters of Colombres Mármol on the Interview of Guayaquil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIII, 154–158.

THE STATUS OF THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

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Ramón Beteta, long prominent in the government and politics of our Latin neighbor immediately to the south, remarked in a conversation once, many years ago, that politics in Latin America is not a science but an art. The comment was casual but at the same time profound. He and I discussed the point somewhat further, and it has often recurred to me since as the epitome of a highly significant aspect of the Latin-American political mentality. What Sr. Beteta meant was that the operation of government in State X, which lies somewhere between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn, was not a matter of cleavage to hard and fast rules, that it was not susceptible to laboratory or test-tube treatment, that it was not cold-blooded and lifeless and precise and scientific. He did mean, on the other hand, that the Latin-American reaction to problems of government and politics is directed toward making the process as successful as possible from the standpoint of artistry. What this means in terms of actual description of a given situation is difficult to say. It is difficult precisely because it is less easy to describe an artistic result than a scientific one—simpler to say in words what an oil burner is like than an oil painting.

Now, Sr. Beteta was far in advance of the average Latin American in making the comment that he did. That was true not because he rejected the Latin-American attitude, but because he recognized a distinction between the two approaches. Many Latin Americans would assume that regional attitude and then approach it unconsciously, not recognizing that a fundamentally different point of view toward problems of government might characterize another country or countries. It is in order, before going further, to state emphatically that no conscious or unconscious linkage is intended between the Latin-American and Anglo-American attitudes and what constitutes "good" or "bad," democratic or dictatorial government. I believe (and I hope I am being scientific at this point) that the problem of approaches and attitudes can be examined apart, as it were, from that of results and consequences. After all, democracy is to be found in, say, both the United States and Costa Rica. And the democracy of the New England town meeting and the dictatorship of a certain New Jersey metropolis are not so far apart geographically. It is also worthy of note in this connection, though it seems the veriest truism, that one type of government will not fit all situations or appeal as "good" to all peoples. United States democracy might not work under Costa Rican conditions and by the same token Costa Rican democracy might be partially ineffective in this country. Yet each people finds its

type of government satisfactory, and, with our paucity of terms and our inadequate measurements, we apply the same label to both.

It is also in order to point out that the observations included in this paper are confined, in line with its title, to the position attained by the *study* of government or, in a broader sense, political science. The practice of government is something else again. Many developments—in Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, and elsewhere—are of great significance and permanent and general value in the field of "applied government" or the practice of government; they are not strictly pertinent, however, to a consideration of the study of government.

Let us first seek to determine, if we can, some explanation for the Latin-American attitude toward the study and practice of government. The Latin-American practitioner of politics has, like his fellow artists, more pride in creation, more jealousy of his achievement, more of a defensive reaction toward criticism than would be the case if he approached his trade scientifically. It is no criticism of the Latin-American politician—it is simply recognition of the fact that he comes at the problem from one angle rather than from another one. If the politician is an "in" rather than an "out," this means that when a question is raised by anyone about the honesty, efficiency, or general desirability of this or that agency, official, or technique, the open or implied criticism is assumed to be directed covertly against the artistry, which is dangerously close to the integrity and the honor, of the responsible governmental official. And the assumption is probably correct.

Hence, any reaction that is critical even in a scientific way is regarded as akin to being part and parcel of the political opposition. Indeed, the matter raised may be entirely neutral politically, and even laudable, but the suggestion of innovation is in itself implied criticism of the status quo and is hence often viewed suspiciously. The point can be illustrated. I recently learned of a proposal that had been made by a person interested in the study of municipal government to a sincere and enthusiastic colleague in a Latin-American state to the effect that much good might be forthcoming if the Latin American would undertake the organization of a League of Municipalities in his own country. The suggestion was accepted enthusiastically. The next that the *Norteamericano* heard of the matter was when he learned that his Latin-American co-worker was in jail for radical and subversive activities!

We may assume, then, that no clear line is commonly drawn between scholarly investigation and political criticism. What courses are open to the political scientist who wants to till the fields? They are two in number. In the first place, the student may confine himself to examination of problems in a vacuum without attempting to come to grips with realities. He will be safe if he limits his observations to the historical development of the subject of his interest. The dead past, after all, has buried its dead. The student will be *reasonably* safe if he writes of the

philosophical implications of the matters to which he directs his attention. But philosophy, though the layman would view it as doubtless stodgy and certainly harmless, has a habit of rebounding, sometimes embarrassingly. Hence, the political scientist must tread warily at this point.

The other course open to him is to cast discretion aside—and probably scholarship along with it—and go over definitely and openly to the opposition. This means that professional restraint, a judicial approach, a scientific attitude are almost necessarily abandoned in favor of the polemic tone, the argumentative attitude, the combative position. The political scientist is no longer a judge seeking after Truth, but a lawyer trying to make a case.

There would be a certain logic in our looking for serious developments in the study of government in either of two directions: in those countries that are culturally and economically most advanced or in those in which democracy, expressed particularly through the media of free speech, a free press, and an unregimented educational system, has made the greatest headway. The example *par excellence* of the first is Argentina. Without overburdening the analysis with statistics, it is in order to cite a few by way of proof. Argentina, with an area only a third that of Brazil and a population slightly more than a third of its South American sister state, has a railway mileage of 28,775 against Brazil's 21,253, and a highway mileage of more than a quarter of a million contrasted to 130,000 for its big northeastern neighbor. Argentina's literacy rate is eighty-five per cent; its only close Latin-American competitors are Costa Rica with eighty-two per cent and Chile with seventy-six. One would scarcely expect to find a critical attitude toward politics without the minimum of devices for informing the public—though the presence of the latter does not necessarily prove the former—and Argentina measures up well in this regard. Its newspaper circulation is 1,906,960; Brazil's, the next highest, is only 840,000. Argentina is reported to have 1,336,000 radio sets against just under 900,000 for Brazil. Argentina has an automotive vehicle registration of 444,868 and has 460,857 telephones; Brazil, second in each case, has 218,564 and 290,900 respectively. Hence, in measuring Latin America in terms of various mechanical gadgets with which our modern civilization is built, Argentina easily takes first place.

Let us now consider what correlation exists between this favorable picture and that of Argentina's progress in the study of the science of government. There is little such correlation. It is not entirely fair to make our observation completely as of the present: Argentina's situation, domestic and international, is now admittedly abnormal. It is consequently rather to the universities that we should look for evidences of scientific concern with the study of government.

We should remind ourselves of a well-known fact at this point: that curricula in Latin-American universities are differently organized than those in our institutions in this country, and that in the field of what

we may term the social sciences there is less tendency in Latin America than with us to draw clear lines of demarcation between the disciplines. This matter of definition of terms is a highly important point but it is often overlooked; definitions may easily differ as between Latin America and the United States. The result is that in Latin America much of what we call political science is to be found in the law schools. Nor do the Latin-American institutions have any clear tradition of defining the subfields such as political theory, international relations, international law, comparative government, political parties, public law, public administration, and municipal government. Most of the law schools of the Argentine universities (and that republic has more universities that can be called outstanding than any other country in Latin America) offer courses in administrative law, constitutional law, international law (both public and private), and political philosophy. This subfield of political theory receives much fuller attention than any of the others mentioned above. We may also include the fairly common courses in constitutional history, which can quite logically be regarded as at least a bridge between political science and history.

The approach in most of these courses, however, is definitely legalistic—they are law and not political science, as we would make a distinction between the two. It is beside the point, of course, to remark that their foundation for a study of the law is the Roman rather than the English common law. Probably in courses on constitutional history there is the closest approach to subject matter that would make a political scientist from the United States feel at home.

The economic sciences, as the Argentines (and many other Latin Americans) label them, find occasional courses offered in what we may call public finance. The university at Rosario offers a course analogous to those in public administration in this country. It may be mentioned, however, that the man who gives it, the well known Professor Bielsa, is currently characterized by a political attitude regarded as suspect by some non-Argentines, and no doubt by some of his compatriots as well. The subject of the civil service comes in for a little attention in law-school courses on administrative law. In this same general direction it may be mentioned that studies that are labeled *instrucción cívica* are offered in the Argentine *colegios*, but the work is elementary at best—the *colegio* is not so much the equivalent of our college as it is of a high school or at most a junior college. In this country we generally regard as the foundation course in political science one on the introduction to United States government. I have found no evidence, however, to indicate that a comparable course, on the university level, is offered in any institution in Argentina or, indeed, in any other Latin-American country.

Argentine universities do not give courses on political parties, those offerings on United States campuses that are often the most popular of political science courses because the students assume that here will be

revealed the "inside" and the "dirt." The same conclusion is true of the Argentine study of public opinion and pressure groups—it is non-existent. Nor is there any systematic or complete development of attention to comparative government. One occasionally finds a law-school seminar on the development of parliamentary institutions, but the treatment of comparative government is fragmentary at best. The University of the Litoral (Rosario and Santa Fé) includes a course for the doctorate in "political science" on the subject of constitutional systems but otherwise that curriculum more resembles a law-school course than it does one in political science. The University of Tucumán lists a third-year course, curiously enough in its curriculum for history and geography majors, on the history of political institutions.

The Argentine curricula all present a lacuna when it comes to the study of municipal political institutions, although the university at Santa Fé formerly offered a course in *derecho municipal;* the title indicates the approach. There has occasionally been presented a course on labor legislation but these are more the reflection of the personal interests of individual professors than they are a standard part of university curricula. Courses preparing for the diplomatic and consular service are sometimes found, but again there is a large admixture of law.

This detail would scarcely have been justified were it not for the fact that what is to be found in the other Latin-American countries is a pale but faithful reflection of the offering of the Argentine universities; much similarity pervades the whole area in that regard. Argentina may also be cited as more or less typical of the methods employed in presenting such materials in university courses. The emphasis is on memory rather than reasoning. I recently talked with a man just returned from Buenos Aires who, while in Argentina, had attended several university examinations for doctoral degrees. The uniform procedure in the examinations, he said, was for the student to repeat, as nearly verbatim as possible, what he had taken down in voluminous notes from the professor's lectures. The examinations—they are almost always oral—showed little variation in that respect. My informant, who was well qualified to form judgments by reason of his experience both in this country and Argentina, said he often wanted to shout at the examinees "Why? Why? Why?" But even if he had violated the proprieties in that way, we could not be optimistic that much student initiative and intellect-searching would be forthcoming. It is significant that in a very small minority of cases do the catalogs of Latin-American universities stress, or even mention, individual research by even the advanced students.

Another phase of the Argentine picture that should be examined is as to the amount of activity by the government itself, pointed at the systematic study (and presumably improvement) of its own anatomy and physiology. Unfortunately there is little of it. The public employees, it is true, have for some years had their unions but these have been for the most part

mutual-benefit groups with little professional significance. Argentina's government does not have a pattern of interministerial committees, and there is completely lacking such a development as Brazil has in its much publicized D. A. S. P. No organized popular groups operate to provide a stimulus or demand for healthy self-examination on the part of the government. Such criticism of the sort as exists is partisan in character, is regarded as such by the government, and is hence discounted, ignored, or opposed as circumstances seem to warrant.

When we look for Latin-American states where democracy is deeply rooted and genuinely practiced, we probably can find no better example than splendid little Costa Rica. It is not necessary to be panegyrical about this republic to admit that it has achieved remarkable advance along the democratic path, especially in view of certain basis obstacles—historic, geographic, economic—that it has had to face. It is not now in order to inquire why that is so; we are rather concerned with its effect on the study and practice of political science. Again, there is little correlation.

For one thing, higher education is much less well developed in Costa Rica (the very favorable literacy rate to the contrary notwithstanding) than in several other Latin-American states. The University of Costa Rica dates back as a formal creation only to 1940 and as a going concern to the year following—though antecedent institutions had operated for more than a century. The University of Costa Rica has its law school but the offering is of the usual sort—constitutional law, administrative law, etc.

One development in Costa Rica—now suspended or at least diverted—deserves mention as a straw showing the possible direction of the wind. This was the establishment some years ago of the *Centro para el Estudio de Problemas Nacionales.* This Center for the Study of National Problems was interested in matters political and economic. It was composed of a group of enthusiastic young men who were soon proposing various solid and significant reforms for Costa Rica. But, as almost might have been anticipated, the *Centro*—shall we say—"degenerated" into a political party. It recently underwent a species of amalgamation with *Acción Democrática* in that country and henceforth will probably operate along more orthodoxly partisan lines; by the same token, its value as an omen of an objective and impartial reform movement is largely destroyed.

Cuba perhaps occupies a special position in regard to the matter under consideration. Its literacy rate—first criterion of potential general educational advance—is well above the average for Latin America, and its University of Havana has a wide reputation. The University's law school offers a course on *derecho político* (largely comparative government), one on *gobierno municipal,* and one on the history of social doctrines (which is principally political theory); there is also a course on the history of Cuban local institutions. One interesting feature about these courses—except, obviously, the last-named—is that they frequently make use of

textbooks by United States authors, either in the original English or in Spanish translation. This practice might be either merit or disadvantage in Latin-America eyes but it doubtless has the result, at any rate, of making the content of the courses more nearly resemble what one would find in the United States.

Cuba has a further, and non-academic, focus of interest in the study of government in its possession of the headquarters of the Inter-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation. This administrative agency for the periodic Inter-American Congresses of Municipalities, the first of which met some years ago in Havana, has perhaps not fulfilled the high hopes originally placed in it but it is evidence that an activity that is largely voluntary and only semi-official may ultimately come to fuller fruition. The study of technical and administrative municipal problems is of real importance and Cuba is fortunate in being at the official center of such activity, even if its promise is still greater than the performance. In conjunction with the Inter-Municipal Commission, the University of Havana is planning to offer a highly elaborate and ambitious course on municipal government. It is still a "paper course" but significant even in that stage of development.

Brazil also offers some points of distinction. That largest of the Latin-American states has made more progress than any other in the study of government by government itself. The inspiration was chiefly that of Getulio Vargas. The expression was primarily through the well known D. A. S. P. This Administrative Department of Public Service has expanded into a large and powerful agency which not only controls but also studies. It has attacked the various problems of personnel, such as overstaffing, grading, promotions, etc., those of materiel, such as standards, purchasing techniques, and others, and a variety of additional administrative problems. All of this has naturally called for a considerable research function. The training division of D. A. S. P. has a section on courses that in 1943 offered, free of charge to its students, fifty courses, given by 100 instructors, and taken by approximately 4,000 students; enrollment in them was not confined to governmental employees, though the courses were designed chiefly as a species of in-service training.

Since November, 1937—interestingly enough, the very month of the Vargas *coup*—D. A. S. P. has published the *Revista do Serviço Público*, a well edited and printed journal which, despite the obvious limitations attaching to an official publication, is still significant as indicative of a serious interest in the problems of the public service. Brazil's reform program has had as its purpose the betterment of the economic life of the republic and thereby the material improvement of the individuals composing it. Though the paper development of its program has been greater than the practical application and results, it still is outstanding as the furthest reaching, and indeed the only important, undertaking of the kind by governmental agencies themselves. Despite a possible—and probably

desirable—reorientation in Brazilian politics, D. A. S. P. will bear watching, if it continues, as a highly significant trend and model.

Developments elsewhere in Latin America do not fall into any well defined or distinctive pattern. It would be pointless to mention more than a few here and there. The National University of Colombia formerly offered a two-year curriculum in public administration which was publicized at the time as a training ground for the national governmental service—but the program has been abandoned. The curriculum in what the Universidad Libre at Bogotá labels public administration turns out to be largely economics. The University of Panama, later nominally transformed into the Inter-American University, listed a course in "political science" which was largely political theory, one in social politics, and one in labor legislation. The School of Economics at the National University of Mexico has revealed imagination and enthusiasm, and the curriculum is less narrowly economic than the title of the School would suggest.

Every one of the Latin-American states has its bar associations and legal academies and societies, but without exception they seem to be unaware of the possibility of private professional interest in and attention to the study or betterment of government. Somewhat the same criticism, devastating though it may sound, can be made of the scholarly reviews and journals that presumably should pay their professional respects to these problems. Their number is legion. I recently surveyed a Pan American Union publication of November, 1942, listing Latin-American periodicals containing information on the law and legal matters. The boundary lines of content are sufficiently indistinct that that sort of rubric easily includes matters of concern to the political scientist as well as the lawyer. Employing a liberal yardstick for measurement, I counted thirty-five periodicals (fifteen of them in Argentina) that would possibly have a genuine appeal to the student of government. Not many of them were available for direct examination, but the only one, in addition to the above-mentioned *Revista do Serviço Público,* that seems really significant is the long-since suspended *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas.*

It would be helpful if Latin America could present more examples of bureaus of municipal research, national municipal leagues, taxpayers' associations, and other organizations of one sort or another that are "government-conscious" as distinct from the political consciousness of the orthodox party organizations. Unfortunately, such organizations are almost nonexistent.

It would seem, viewing the field of the social sciences as a whole, that the study of political science or government has undergone less development in Latin America than almost any other of its sister disciplines—though I realize that some of my colleagues might disagree on this score. History, of course, is well delimited and universally recognized as a separate field of study. Economics is forging to the front with an identity of its own. Sociology is beginning to follow suit, though still strongly

influenced by the law, especially through the link of penology. Geography, though usually offered at lower levels, is a distinct study. But political science is at best a poorly recognized and accepted discipline, torn between its traditional subordination to and confusion with the law on the one hand and, on the other, the general, and perhaps unconscious, refusal to accept it as a science.

Why is this the case, I recently asked a very intelligent young Costa Rican friend of mine. He thought over the question for a few moments—the problem may not have occurred to him before—and finally said he thought the basic reason was simply a lack of civic consciousness and of a public insistence upon governmental responsibility and integrity. The public, especially the lay public, he continued, is simply not conditioned by training, tradition, or temperament to acceptance of the concept that public office is not for private gain but is rather a public trust. It would be as foreign, he concluded—and with this quoted comment I shall do likewise—to expect to find in the Latin-American *milieu* the systematic and scientific study of government and politics as it would be to assume that their medical schools would offer courses on the treatment of whatever diseases may be peculiar to Alaska.

Let us make full circle by repeating Sr. Beteta's observation that the Latin-American views politics as an art rather than a science.

THE CONTEMPORARY LATIN-AMERICAN THEATRE

THEODORE APSTEIN
Mexico City

In trying to explain the relative dearth of drama and theatre activities in the Latin-American countries today, we are compelled to admit that the most powerful reasons for the absence of a well-developed, significant theatre are the economic and political conditions of these countries. The theatre has always thrived where governments have been stable and material surroundings prosperous; thus, we find the outstanding theatre advances of the contemporary stage in the United States and in Russia and a well-established, if somewhat sterile, theatre in England. But Latin America has produced only a few figures of any importance whatsoever in either the playwriting or acting fields. Within the Latin-American countries, too, we find differences in the status of the theatre in direct proportion to the existing political situation and its antecedents. Argentina, with a progressive and fairly stable government until 1943, has had the most active theatre; Mexico, with its political upsets and economic problems, has been groping for a theatre, frequently in a rather passive manner; Colombia and Peru have virtually no theatre.

There is hope, however, that in a hemispheric stabilization, expressed in terms of international political and economic solidarity, there will be active encouragement for theatre workers to march towards greater and improved production. Because the Latin-American nations are young, there is no cause for disappointment in past failures or in lack of development. The road is only now being paved.

From a literary point of view, the obscurity of the Latin-American drama can be blamed on its parents, the Spanish and French theatres. The Latin-American theatre had a glorious tradition to inherit and great currents to follow; but the traditions are of the past and the currents have stopped; and the Latin-American theatre is going through a pitifully lethargic period. Spain's last great literary movement, known as the generation of '98, brought forth only one playwright, Jacinto Benavente, and there has been only one other significant figure in Spanish drama since then, Federico García Lorca. Assassinated by the *falangistas* in the prime of his youth (he was in his thirties), García Lorca was a true poet of the stage and could have created a new golden age for the Spanish theatre. His plays, with all the imperfections of fiery youth and lack of dramatic experience, are among the greatest pieces of writing of this century. But García Lorca is dead; and Benavente, although he is still alive and producing mediocre plays, belongs to an age which ended with the first World War. Neither has the other parent, France, been a source of inspiration lately. Henri Bernstein, Lenormand and Jean-Jacques Bernard exercised a great influence on the Latin-

American theatre; but their age is over, and there are no new playwrights to occupy their position.

The Latin-American theatre is beginning to find its ground. Its work is lacking in unity and undertsanding between playwrights, impresarios and actors; its trends are not yet clearly defined. For these very reasons it is fascinating to watch, like a child beginning to walk without knowing what direction to take. The Latin-American theatre has a long way to go before it equals the technical and literary developments of European and North-American theatres. Awareness of shortcomings and invitation to criticism are two great tools it must learn to use. Without them, it will not have the "power" which Hallie Flanagan says the theatre must possess to be significant in the culture and life of a nation.

The artistic problems which face the theatre in most of the Latin-American countries are not unlike those the United States had before the advent of the experimental producing groups and a new school of playwrights in the second decade of the twentieth century. Both the drama and the theatre are involved in these problems, and through a presentation of their nature and suggested solutions, we can best survey the existing conditions in the Latin-American theatre. In the main, these problems apply to the drama and stage of all these nations; but, in order to explain every one of them more specifically, illustrations will be drawn from the contemporary theatres of Peru, Colombia, Mexico, and Argentina. Briefly stated, the chief problems are as follows:

1. The theory of playwriting in Latin America is not conducive to a general improvement of the drama.
2. The functions of the director and the designer in a modern theatre have not been acknowledged properly.
3. There is a stock company system of production.
4. There is a star system.
5. The audiences have to be educated in theatre.
6. The approach of the dramatic critic has to be modified.
7. The drama in Latin America has not developed as much as either fiction or verse.

To understand and evaluate the contemporary plays of Latin America one must take into consideration two fundamental factors: the different theories of playwriting in Spanish America and in the United States, and the distinction made between the artist who writes plays and the craftsman who has learned dramatic composition as a trade.

The North-American playwright is willing to revise and accept the criticism of directors, actors, other playwrights, scene designers and other theatre workers before his play opens, and continues rewriting after the play has opened. Many a playwright has changed more than half his play between a Washington preview and a New York first night. He believes in saying, "A play is never written; it is rewritten," whether he likes it or not. There are exceptions, of course, but most American playwrights have conformed to this practice, which has a theory behind it. When the final product is ready, it is the best the author can give

his audience. If his original conception has been shifted, perhaps it failed to carry his message to an audience (I do not mean to imply a social message here; beauty is a message too), and the revised version of his play presents his ideas in such a form that they will mean something to others than himself.

The first advantage of this theory is that the playwright learns a great deal about technique in drama. When the technique of North-American and Latin-American playwrights is compared, it is evident that the latter is far behind. Another advantage is that if the playwright works too rapidly or carelessly, there is an opportunity for him and for others to check his work before it goes into production. Thus, a greater uniformity of quality is obtained.

Some Latin-American playwrights do revise, but they are in the minority. Many of the outstanding dramatic authors would be infuriated at the mere suggestion of rewriting any portion of their plays. They take themselves seriously (which is good if not carried too far) and consider inspiration a thing too sacred to be modified.

In Peru, María de Jesús Alvarado Rivera has resorted to sporadic organization of amateur groups to produce her plays because she is unwilling to comply with the requested revisions of established theatres. Whereas her thesis plays attempt and fail to accomplish what Isben's dramas did fifty years ago, her historical play about eighteenth century Lima is interesting and would be worth performing were it not so unbalanced in length and structure. The only other practicing Peruvian dramatist, Eduardo Eckhardt Pastor, has written two sentimental plays with a nostalgic feeling for the nineteenth century; his depiction of manners and customs is delightful, and his plays would be valuable dramatically if they had been more skillfully composed.

The contemporary playwrights of Colombia can be divided into three groups: the old school, represented by Luis Enrique Osorio; the literary dramatists like Jorge Zalamea; and the younger playwrights, among whom Rafael Guizado and Gerardo Valencia are outstanding. Osorio wrote most of his plays some twenty years ago and under the influence of French naturalism; as director of the Municipal Theatre of Bogotá, he has had an opportunity to pull them out of the drawer and stage them. Such plays as *Blind Knot,* however, seem stilted and over melodramatic today.

Colombia's ambassador to Mexico, Jorge Zalamea, is an able littérateur, but he is not a man of the theatre, as a perusal of his two best plays indicate. Both *The Return of Eve* and *The Rape of the Sabines* are interesting essays in dramatic form, but would be rather dull in performance. Strangely enough the most original plays in Colombia have grown out of the radio scripts of Rafael Guizado and Gerardo Valencia. Guizado, in his middle thirties, works for an insurance company; he has traveled throughout the Americas and has more social consciousness than Valencia. Guizado's dialogue, however, is more lit-

erary and not quite as vibrant as Valencia's. *Complemento,* Guizado's four-act play which I saw in rehearsal in Bogotá, has many technical defects and is frequently too verbose, but it shows at once that the author has a rich imagination. The play deals with a character who might be real and might be unreal—we never find out—and who "complements" situations. He meets a girl in a park, and after assuring her that he can solve all her problems, he goes home with her. In the absence of her brother, the "complement" poses as one of the brother's bosom friends and solves things as he pleases. He says farewell to the girl, and next we find him in the park beginning to influence another woman's life. The audience is never told whether the "complement" is a fascinating *chantageur* or a supernatural character. The author intends to surround him with mystery, and in that he certainly succeeds, as well as in making the play exicting and the characters well-defined individuals rather than types.

There is some good irony and warm human sympathy in Guizado's short radio sketch, *The Roof,* in which a boy and a girl, both seeking solitude, meet on a roof and decide to get married. It is this kind of dialogue, when it finds its way into Guizado's longer and more thoughtful plays, that will make him an important playwright. His whimsical one-act, *Lot's Wife,* seems more interesting as a character sketch to be read than a play. *Fallen Arms,* on the other hand, is Guizado's most experimental and also most promising play. It is a psychological study of workers and proprietors during a strike, a powerful one-act tragedy with simple and direct dialogue and well-defined characters. The woman who owns the factory wants it to open again, but finally goes mad to the sound of the strikers' chorus, which, to her, is the sound of the machinery.

In mood value Gerardo Valencia's *Tale of Fear* is reminiscent of John Millington Synge's *Riders to the Sea,* although there is no similarity in the plots. A monster of a man, whom no one ever loved, has been murdered by the father of the girl he had attacked, but his body has not been found yet. An old woman and her daughter, living in a hut, are nervous, especially since the girl hears a sinful soul crying in the dark. A traveler arrives and tells his sad story to the girl; and although she knows he is the monster, she has an impulse to kiss him. This kiss saves his soul from damnation. Because the mood is sustained throughout the play and there is constant suspense, it is quite exicting. *Voyage to the Earth* is a pessimistic play about human weakness and futility. It is too short for a three-act play and too deadly serious. Occasionally it has scenes of charming pathos which remind one of Saroyan's plays, but the drama lacks humor for relief. Valencia's most ambitious play is *Chonta;* again the author achieves effects through creating a mood—this time the atmosphere of the tropics with the motifs of passion, revenge, and torture. Many of the characters, being Negroes, speak a broken Spanish; but whether in dialect or in perfect prose, Valencia

achieves a lyrical quality which suits the supernatural elements in the play.

Both Valencia and Guizado are still experimenting with form and subject matter. They have no direct line of tradition to follow and are reluctant to imitate foreign material; but they are wise in the models they have chosen: García Lorca, Steinbeck, Wilder, Synge. Perhaps they need to go to the Spanish classics and to the people of Colombia for the real fountains of inspiration.

Mexico has contributed several playwrights whose technique rivals that of the best European or North-American dramatists; if they have not advanced as far as those of other nations, it is due to the general apathetic conditions of the Mexican theatre. In the 1920's José Joaquín Gamboa and Victor Manuel Díez Barroso were already seeking new forms in drama; both were men of talent and progressive ideas, education and intelligence, and both loved the theatre. Whereas Díez Barroso advanced a little further in construction, Gamboa had a wider scope; his plays range from the French type of melodrama to the allegorical dramatic poem, *The Knight, Death and the Devil.*

Of the Mexican playwrights who are active in the contemporary theatre the foremost are: Xavier Villaurrutia, Rodolfo Usigli, Celestino Gorostiza, Miguel N. Lira, Concepción Sada and María Luisa Ocampo—and all of them have been associated with most of the theatre movements in Mexico in the last twenty years. Villaurrutia and Usigli are playwrights of deep psychological insight, clever dialogue and fair technique. Profoundly influenced by Pirandello and Lenormand, they wrote one-act plays as experiments in psychological and theatric tricks. Their longer plays, until very recently, have been rather difficult to stage. Villaurrutia's *Invitation to Death,* a modern treatment of the Hamlet theme, for instance, frightened actors and managers because of the coffins which had to appear in a certain scene. Villaurrutia seemed to have reached a happy medium between his experimental drama and "what the public wants" in *The Legitimate Wife,* with which he won the second prize in a national contest; it is a psychological study of hereditary insantiy. Strangely enough, the main character is not the subject under observation, but the character who has to overcome the obstacles created by the insane person. The treatment is powerful; the play loses momentum only when the author descends to please an audience used to sentimental melodrama and adds touches which he undoubtedly denies as an artist. Rodolfo Usigli has been most successful with his prize-winning comedy of manners, *The Family Dines at Home.*

The motion pictures are claiming more and more of Celestino Gorostiza's time, and he has not offered the public a new play in almost ten years. His early dramas were experimental in form; like Villaurrutia, he has been influenced by Pirandello and some of the modern French dramatists, but Gorostiza would like to utilize folk material in his plays. Since he is still a young man, there is a good possibility that he may

produce worthy dramas proving his awareness of the value of genuine Mexican sources in creating a national theatre.

Since approximately 1940, Miguel N. Lira has to be listed among the outstanding dramatists of Mexico. He has been—and will probably continue to be—primarily a poet. And the redeeming feature of his dramas, *Linda* and *Carlotta of Mexico,* is the lyrical quality he injects into them. Neither the regional flavor of the former nor the well-known Carlotta and Maximilian story of the latter find true dramatic expression in Lira's works—and, although he has resigned himself to directors' deletions, he revises grudgingly.

The two women playwrights of Mexico, Concepción Sada and María Luisa Ocampo, are mostly interested in the destiny of the Mexican middle-class woman, and all their dramas are variations on the same theme. They have at time unsuccessfully explored the new psychological theatre, but they have resorted to theatrical effects rather than to their own insight as dramatists.

The integrity of the playwright who rejects revisions also has its advantages. The play may be dramatic, but it is definitely the creation of one person and exhibits his style, pure and unadulterated. For the play as literature this may, indeed, be advantageous in certain cases; but for the play as spoken drama, as theatre, it can be—and frequently is—a loss to the audience. Even for the play as literature alone this theory has at least one fallacy; the propagation of such a school of thought can encourage—as it has—many an upstart to write a drama which he may believe has "the divine spark." Because of his refusal to reconsider, to check, to realize his artistic immaturity, he will not progress, whereas with the more rational process, he might gradually uncover his potential talents. But the Latin American is an individualist, and although he is gregarious, he resents the discipline of the group.

This difference in theories of playwriting leads directly to the other fundamental factor; there are, in Spanish America, "literary" and "commercial" playwrights, and between them lies a wide, deep gulf. This distinction is especially evident in Argentina, where all dramatists are known as *"autores"* (authors); poets, novelists, and essayists, however, are called *"escritores"* (writers). Few playwrights are given the generic name of *"dramaturgos"* (dramatists) unless they are considered writers who have a style of their own besides being able to write acceptable dialogues and describe a setting.

Argentine plays, then, follow two great trends: the personal conflict within the literary mind and the strictly commercial attitude. Although the second trend is the more popular, it is neither lasting nor significant in the development of a national theatre. The commercial plays of Argentina are merely repetitions of successful formulas, written because they provide an income for the authors and impresarios. Most of them are farce-melodramas; the amount of humor or pathos varies according to the author's inclination or the manager's idea of what the public

wants at the time the play is written. The playwrights who make a living from these stage vehicles are known, as I have already indicated, as *"autores,"* to be distinguished from the more serious writers. Most of these people do not presume to be artists; theatre is their business, just like shopkeeping or accounting might be. They use stock plots, stock situations, stock characters, almost a stock dialogue and frequently stock puns and jokes.

Argentina, however, boasts the most active theatre in Latin America and the greatest number of practicing professional playwrights who are likely to survive. Among these, at least one has attained a certain degree of universality, although he is, as yet, almost unknown to the outside world. Samuel Eichelbaum, Argentine-born son of Russian-Jewish immigrants, occupies today a unique position in the Spanish-speaking theatre. With Jacinto Benavente almost out of the picture and Federico García Lorca dead, Eichelbaum is the most important living playwright of the language.

There is the same difference between Eichelbaum and the other Argentine playwrights as there is between Eugene O'Neill and other North-American dramatists. O'Neill has said that most modern plays are concerned with the relation between man and man, which does not interest him at all; he prefers to observe the relation between man and God. Eichelbaum affirms that he is interested in spiritual conflicts only and that the purely psychological, in his estimation, is not in the realm of great art. The comparison of these two dramatists cannot be carried much further, however, because Eichelbaum is not as universal as O'Neill nor is he as interested in digging at the roots of the illness of contemporary life.

It is indicative of the Latin-American theatre that Samuel Eichelbaum has not been able to make a livelihood by writing plays, whereas many authors of commercial farce-melodramas have become wealthy. Eichelbaum has had to write articles for literary supplements and radio programs, and his regular income is from a newspaper on which he has charge of the amusement page.

Eichelbaum wrote his first play at the age of thirteen. His family had by that time moved from the province of Entre Ríos, where he had been born in 1894, to the capital. For reasons which he himself is unable to explain now, he ran away from home and Buenos Aires with his play. He went to Rosario and obtained an appointment with an impresario and an actor who listened to his play. They could not produce it, but he was not discouraged. And twelve years later, in 1919, the Muiño-Alippi stock company presented his short play, *In the Quietude of the Village;* the following year Angelina Pagano gave the first professional production of Eichelbaum's full-length play, *The Evil Thirst.*

Eichelbaum is still writing plays and will probably continue to do so for a number of years; he is still following varying currents, and it is difficult to classify his work. It seems that he is becoming increasingly

interested in the psychological drama with definite regional connotations, or at least involving characters and locals that are primarily Argentine, although the ideas behind the plays usually transcend them geographically. Among these are *A 1900 Brawler, Bird of Clay,* and *A Certain Servando Gómez.* As a separate group we may consider those psychological dramas which do not involve, to any degree of importance, regional elements or folklore; and in the third group, last in significance and first in chronology, are the early thesis plays.

Over melodramatic for 1945, but perhaps more effective in 1920, when it was first produced, is Eichelbaum's *Evil Thirst.* Although the plot seems illogical, there is a certain dramatic power in the play, achieved unfortunately more through the strength of certain scenes than through character development. *A Home* is a heavy, long, searching Freudian drama (although the author claims he knew nothing about Freud at the time), with a few tense dramatic moments but generally lacking in theatre appeal; it presents one of the most unpleasant families ever depicted on any stage. Outstanding among the early plays is *No One Ever Knew Her,* a one-act drama in two long but powerful scenes, the first devoted almost entirely to action, the second to argument. Ivonne, the protagonist, is the mistress of a wealthy young chap and reigns supreme at his party; but, when his friends, in their drunken stupor, stage an imitation of a Jewish raid in which an old man loses his beard, Ivonne loses control of herself and slaps one of the men. Asked for an explanation, she replies that she is a Jewess and her father had died in such raid. Her lover realizes that she is a genuine person and pleads with her to stay with him; but the racial conflict is far more significant in the play than the sentimental love story.

In the group of psychological melodramas, *If You Have a Son* is first in chronological order. It is one of the most moving, tender yet unsentimental, heartbreaking, simple, unassuming, real plays ever written. It is the story of youth in its loneliness. It is the relationship between father and son, both groping for understanding without understanding themselves. It is the tragedy of the woman seeking a home. It is the pathetic story of a young virgin discovering love. *If You Have a Son* deals with the simple problems of life and with thoughts revealed in frank nakedness. The characters go towards the inevitable and are never puppets in the playwright's hands.

The purification of a woman's soul while she sells her body is the theme of *Loneliness Is Your Name,* an idealistic and rather intellectual play, but more theatric than *I Am in Your Life,* which, despite being a play of great emotional potentialities, is too loquacious and static. The study of the subconscious is interesting, but it fails to be dramatic in this particular case.

Samuel Eichelbaum really comes of age as a great playwright with the production of *The Cat and His Forest* at the National Theatre in Buenos Aires, for he begins to fulfill the promise set forth in *If You Have*

A Son—playwriting with intense, exciting dialogue, thinking characters who are "real" people, a certain amount of action (all his plays lack action to some extent) and an interpretation of the conscious and the subconscious that gives the drama an essence of reality. *The Cat and His Forest* is the drama of the old bachelor, domesticated in his own wilderness, living with the illusion that he is a wild cat. "The taming of cats," he says, "is one of the great conventionalities of zoology. They can never be tamed. Their ancestral ferocity subsists in an assimilated hypocrisy." He believes himself to be free and unable to link his life to that of a woman, not permanently at any rate. But he is actually the slave of his two old maid aunts—Merceditas, tremendously zealous, and Eufrasia, weak and pitiful. Eichelbaum's opening scene in this play is reminiscent of Ibsen's characterizing power—the old bachelor's diatribe to the laundress on the art of starching shirts.

Eichelbaum's latest play, as yet unpublished and unproduced, which he read to me in Buenos Aires in 1943, is *The Terrified Hare,* and it belongs in the group of his psychological dramas. There are two stories in this play—that of the young widow who, not having seen her husband's body after his death, still feels his presence within her; and that of the disillusioned journalist, Isabelino Fuentes, who is torn between pompous articles on weddings and funerals (for which he gets paid) and war reports and editorials (for which he gets nothing). Fuentes is a great character. Cowardice has invaded his mind, and thus he has died. It is a far bloodier, harder death than that of a soldier. It is a horrible death, without physical distortions but psychologically macabre, yet lacking the finality of physical death. Compared to this portion of the play, the story of the heroine becomes rather insignificant; but Eichelbaum has surrounded his principal characters with a boarding house atmosphere and secondary personages superbly drawn—the landlord and landlady; their daughter Cucha, who accepts presents for amorous adventures with the boarders, but puts them all away in a trunk; the medical student who hates anatomy; the radio crooner who falls in love with the widow; and the school teacher who detests her life.

In three plays of regional content, Eichelbaum has not ignored the psychology of the characters, and, sociologically, they are his most important plays. One of them, *A 1900 Brawler,* was his first financial success and gained for him a wider public. The protagonist of this drama, Ecuménico López, is a gaucho at heart but in fact bodyguard to a political boss. Endowed with some of the qualities of the traditional outlaw, Juan Moreira, he is also of this century and has a sense of modern life, even though the author lets the action occur about 1900. The play centers around Ecuménico's killing of a young man who carries on a love affair with the boss's wife; the boss knows nothing about this, and Ecuménico's reason for the murder is that he cannot respect a cuckold. When the boss gets Ecuménico out of prison, however, he plans to return and confess his deed.

A Certain Servando Gómez, which was written only a year later, is the story of an humble cartwright with a heart of gold. It has a distinctly regional flavor because of its dialogue, atmosphere and incidental characters; but Servando is a universal character, a man of true values who accepts life, refuses nothing and has the capacity of turning evil into beauty.

Eichelbaum's masterpiece is *Bird of Clay,* written with a rather defiant attitude. Playwrights had filled the market with dramas of peasant girls, seduced by city slickers, demanding a name for their children. Eichelbaum felt that these characters were not genuine; they expressed the vulgar, the typical, which is not necessarily the average or the general. He decided to do the untypical. Felipa, the heroine, is a simple little peasant with a homely face and an ignorant (or ingenious) head. She is a day laborer on a farm. Some hundred miles away her mother and her brother live on a farm too. And in the province of Entre Ríos her cousin Heriberto has an enviable position on another farm. Felipe is to marry Cousin Heriberto; for if he settles down, the boss will raise his salary. But Felipe has heard of the man who becomes her demi-God, Juan Antonio, who forges in clay the faces and bodies of men and women. Big, coarse hands and an ingrowing nail—that is Juan Antonio, son of Spaniards, irresponsible (to all but his art), carefree, the most primitive kind of an artist. Felipe seeks him; she makes him believe she is easy prey. And before he leaves her, she knows that nothing will be more important to him than clay. But her tenacity in wanting the child she has conceived to look like this maker of clay faces brings her to the home of Juan Antonio's mother, Pilar, Spanish to the last drop of her blood, frank, outspoken, racy, alive. Pilar is strong, but Eichelbaum portrays a greater inner strength in frightened, quiet, retiring, unobtrusive Felipa, the *criolla* day laborer. For Felipe resolves, in spite of Pilar's winning arguments, that she is mother and father to the child, a child born through her desire alone, wanted only by her and forged in the image of his father through the suffering and effort of the mother.

Eichelbaum thinks about his plays for years; his only notes are the names of the characters jotted down on a slip of paper. He usually does the actual writing in ten or twelve days, during which he divorces himself from the world and all its problems. He refuses to rewrite. Today he stands alone in Argentina as a true playwright—he has seldom bowed to commercialism in the theatre and he writes as he pleases. He also stands alone in Latin America in his utter contempt for the theatre's limitations as a physical medium and in his belief that action and theatric action come from thought as expressed in words.

Very different from Eichelbaum in his approach to drama, Pedro E. Pico is consistently theatrical; in most of his plays he forces his characters into action. There is no feeling of the inevitable, and Pico does not search deep into the mind of his people. He thinks in terms of audience appeal, and he makes his characters act to conform to the public's

expectations. He is superior to the so-called "commercial" playwrights because of his originality, versatility and occasional sincerity in the portrayal of a character or of a sociological problem. *The Lines of a Cross,* his greatest play, is the story of a politician and his rise. It is the story of a young man with ideals who sells them for a paltry amount of power and fame. The title suggests the two lines of a cross meeting at one point and never again—the meeting of the protagonist and his political party, which stands for all his ideals. Among his other plays, *Truth in the Eyes* and *The Old Maid* are the best psychological melodramas, and *I Want You to Deceive Me* and *I Can't Say No!* the best farce-comedies. Pico's forte is witty dialogue, complemented with an optimistic view of life and accurate descriptions of Argentine customs; his chief weaknesses are hasty plotting and characterization subordinated to theatrical effects.

Not quite as prolific as Pico, Vicente Martínez Cuitiño, an Uruguayan by birth, has exercised himself in almost every type of drama and is a follower of new trends. When he left the Ibsen realism, he invaded the field of social comedy, following the pattern of some Benavente plays. His more elaborate forms of drama are based on artifices; for Martínez Cuitiño does not create these new forms, interesting though they may be, in *Servants, The Imperfect Man, The No Account* and *The Spectator or the Fourth Reality.*

Had José María Monner Sans and Román Gómez Masía devoted themselves entirely to the writing of plays, they might have been the foremost dramatists of Argentina, for they have studied the technique of the theatre and both have a basic originality and an inherent flair for the dramatic. Even though their successful collaboration, *Orcada Islands,* has been accused of a lack of dramatic conflict, it far surpasses most of the dramas produced by native playwrights in the last few years. They had worked together before on a short but impressive play, *My Name Is Juan García,* with a great deal of atmosphere and an unforgettable character concretely portrayed—a man who seeks liberty from any kind of chains. Gómez Masía alone has written *Absence,* a play of mood based on an Andreyev short story, *Temistocles,* a political satire, and a rather sensational and controversial farce, *Mr. God Is Not at Home,* one of the most bitter and offensive satires ever written against the Catholic Church.

Three younger men, César Tiempo, Arturo Cerretani and Eliseo Montaine, have not yet made a quantitative contribution to the Argentine theatre; but all three have done promising work and are likely to build on their strong foundations. César Tiempo's *Creole Bread, I Am the Theatre* and *I Want to Live* show acute observation of character as well as a thorough awareness of social conflicts; Cerretani, a disciple of Lenormand, paints the dull, dreary atmosphere of the pampas with fine strokes and subtle colors in *The House Without a Master* and *A Man's*

Woman; Montaine, in his one play, *Women in the Desert,* draws on Argentine folklore for his material.

The romantic trend in the contemporary Argentine theatre is found in the plays of Ricardo Rojas, poet, scholar, and historian. His four dramas in verse are distinctly romantic in their inspiration but classical in their essence. *Elelín* is about the conquest of Argentina; *The Colonial House,* the independence period; *Ollantay,* a Quichua legend; and *La Salamanca,* another legend. But Rojas is concerned with poetic truth rather than with historical facts. A different type of romanticism is found in the work of Conrado Nalé Roxlo, a poet of some fame, whose plays, *The Siren's Tail* and *A Difficult Widow,* are fantasy and historical farce, respectively.

The People's Theatre of Buenos Aires, despairing of the work done by most of the commercialized playwrights, began to ask other writers to contribute to the theatre; thus, we have plays by novelists, poets and essayists without much theatric technique or dramatic impact. The staff of the People's Theatre admits that many of these plays which have been produced and published are not good; but they believe that the non-dramatists of Argentine letters should be encouraged. With this everyone would agree, but it seems that higher standards and a study of the stage could be demanded. Because they are not restricted by the rules and regulations which bind the minds of the commercial authors, these playwrights seek new channels in the theatre. Their experiments are sometimes absurd, sometimes impractical for staging, sometimes undramatic; but they are almost invariably original in some aspect. Whether successful or not, these attempts will be of great value to the next generation of Argentine—and probably all Spanish-American—playwrights because they have introduced into the national drama a new type of pageantry (Roberto Arlt's *Africa* and Helvio Botana's *The Soul of Maruf*), daring symbolism (Roberto Mariani's *A Child Plays with Death* and Octavio Rivas Rooney's *The Wind in the Flames*), psychoanalysis in verse (Horacio Rega Molina's *Life Is Far Away*), the study of the subconscious (*While the Clock Strikes Six* by Eduardo González Lanuza and Amado Villar), expressionism (Marcelo Menasche's *A Mustache for the Moon,* Roberto Arlt's *Three Hundred Million* and Enzo Aloisi's *The Voyage through Himself*), intellectual subtlety, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada's *That Which We Do Not See Die*), and the search for new expressions and impressions, freedom from conventional forms and styles, and liberal thought.

The connection between the playwrights' theories and the practices of other theatre workers is clear. There is a great need in Latin America for more understanding of the director's functions and for actors' appreciation of the other crafts of the theatre. The stock company system, which is prevalent in the Spanish-speaking world, is not very conducive to developing new directors. Peru has no stage directors; Colombia's attempts to start a national theatre have been frustrated several

times by the absence of a professional director. The Mexican theatre has seldom given an opportunity to its best directors, Alfredo Gómez de la Vega and Xavier Villaurrutia; it is not surprising that they are seeking an outlet for their talents in the motion pictures. Only Argentina has provided an experimental stage—the People's Theatre—for Leónidas Barletta and the National Comedy for Antonio Cunill Cabanellas; political changes in 1943, however, rendered these two institutions virtually impotent.

The experimental groups of Mexico, Peru and Argentina are training some young people who may be able to stage plays for Latin America's next generation and some who may act in them. The stock company, as it now exists, is not an encouraging organization for younger actors; the star always claims the center of attention and usually prefers not to have very promising juveniles or ingénues in the group. Frequently, too, the star and the impresario are related or are one and the same person.

A movement to establish schools of dramatic arts has already been planned by Antonio Cunill Cabanellas in Argentina and by Clementina Otero in Mexico. To this date, however, the only classes in acting and directing in all Hispanic America are found at the National Conservatory in Buenos Aires and the Motion Picture Academy in Mexico City. In addition to these, the People's Theatre of Argentina and the Association of Amateur Actors of Peru are in themselves schools of the theatre. The next generation of Latin-American theatre workers will have to come out of these institutions; it is imperative at this point that the playwrights and actors of today support a movement towards encouraging drama education.

Audiences will come to see good plays; this has always been true. When playwrights, managers and actors blame the public for being apathetic, they should themselves seek the causes of that apathy. Latin-American people will express their enthusiasm vigorously and violently as indeed they have done at the People's Theatre or at the recitals of Berta Singerman, great reader of Spanish verse. But it would be too much to expect enthusiasm for the commercial plays or some of the performances often encountered in the theatres of Buenos Aires, Mexico City or Bogotá. The audience is anxious to enjoy itself and is willing to be educated. It is up to the theatre to do it, and the first step has been taken.

Standards of good theatre have been set by dramatic critics since the days of Aristotle. Plays are produced for the people, but people want to be guided in their choice, and there should be a record of the quality of the dramas presented. These are the functions of the critic. The Latin-American theatre has been fortunate in that many of its dramatic critics have been men of superior taste and intelligence—Francisco Monterde of Mexico and Alfredo de la Guardia of Argentina, to mention only two; it is to be regretted that some of them are curbed by such temporary limitations as newspaper policies and that others prefer to study the foreign theatre. The problem of criticism in Spanish

America is one of enlightening the theatre managers. Severe and frank criticism encourages progress in the theatre; it is also apt to bring larger audiences. People who read the newspapers are quite able to distinguish between forced praise or polite comment and genuine analysis or severe criticism. The critics can be sympathetic without sacrificing their integrity; such New York critics as Brooks Atkinson and John Mason Brown have made the Broadway theatre a more competitive field artistically. When the impresarios awaken to the fact that the money invested in advertisements gives them the privilege of demanding liberal criticism instead of praise and made-to-order reviews, they will find that their adolescent theatre has grown up. And their houses will be fuller.

Literary historians, however, may question all these explanations. For, they can say, why has the drama not developed in Latin America like fiction and verse have? The economic reason, as I have said before, is the most obvious. The novelist and the poet need no intermediaries to present their brain children to the public; the dramatist does not have much of an incentive to write if production facilities are poor or unavailable.

Spanish-American verse has advanced to new forms since the *Modernista* movement, and the exotic structure of Vicente Huidobro's poetry as well as the imagery and symbolism of Pablo Neruda's open new channels. Experiments in dramatic form avail the author nothing if they are not staged, and there are very few groups in Latin America willing to produce them. The contemporary novel of Hispanic America has tended towards formlessness; it is difficult, however, to have digressions and abstract diatribes in a play and keep it dramatically alive. The dramatic form is exacting and limiting; only authors with a great flight of imagination, like William Saroyan or Thornton Wilder, have found ways of interesting an audience with worthy yet thoroughly unconventional plays. The playwrights of Latin America are not lacking in imagination, but they are still trying to acquire a technique while the novelists and poets have progressed to the next stage. When the playwrights have mastered dramatic technique, better results can be expected.

Another problem arises—why has the Latin-American dramatist ignored the sociological conflicts which are so vital to the cultural make-up of his environment? Such novelists as Mariano Azuela, Ciro Alegría, Manuel Gálvez and Jorge Icaza are profoundly interested in the scocial, economic and political problems of their respective countries. Even a pure poet like Pablo Neruda has written verse on the subject of Russia's struggle against the Nazis. The playwrights, however, with only a few exceptions, are still writing romanticized melodramas and farces or dramas reflecting their interest in moral problems whose relations to the current conditions is remote. The time has come to realize that neither pure art nor pure commercialism constitutes dynamic theatre; the hope for the future lies in those writers and theatre workers who will improve their art and craft without forgetting that the theatre must be an integral part of the world we live in.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MUSICAL CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA

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The term "Latin America" is a semantic illusion, a philological figment. It is one of those utilitarian terms that can neither be logically defended nor conveniently replaced. At most I will concede its validity as a geographical concept, not as a cultural entity. Therefore, I do not speak of "Latin-American music," but of the music found within the immense and varied region that for the sake of convenience we call "Latin America." No attempt will be made to describe that music in conformity with accepted stereotypes or preconceived patterns. Indeed, an honest appraisal of the material would immediately doom such an attempt to failure. Only by suppression and distortion could the music of Latin America be made to conform with the current conception of Latin-American music. Neither the rumba-playing of a popular name band nor the egocentric creations of a Villa-Lobos can serve as adequate yardsticks with which to measure the infinite ramifications of a complex musical culture that ranges from the most primitive to the most sophisticated expression. In Latin America we find music that conforms with amazing fidelity to ancestral African traditions. We find music that preserves unmistakable vestiges of pre-Columbian tonal systems. We find music that presents a strange blend of African and European elements. We find traditional music representing the transplanted tunes and rhythms of Spain. We find countless permutations and combinations of these styles, to say nothing of such varied influences as ecclesiastical plain song, Italian *bel canto,* Spanish *zarzuela,* Viennese waltzes, and American jazz. In the patterns of colonial composition we find imitations of European polyphonic and classical techniques, with the influence of such composers as Pergolesi and Haydn preponderant in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In the realm of modern art music we encounter examples of every creative trend from the most conservative to the most radical, including neo-classicism, post-romanticism, nationalism, folklorism, impressionism, and all the other "isms" born of aesthetic fad or fashion. I have by no means exhausted the catalogue, but I think I have made the point that the music of Latin America cannot be encompassed with facile generalities, for it offers the same endless variety, sharp contrasts, and opposing extremes that are found in the climate and topography of this hemisphere.

I am aware that by a process of aesthetic obfuscation it is possible to bring musical culture into line with the myopic vision of those persons who can apprehend only one limited segment of music as having cultural value. It has been my astonishing experience to hear a self-appointed critical pundit declare publicly that "jazz" or "swing" could not legitimately be considered in a discussion of musical culture. To clear the

ground before proceeding further, let me say that I use the term "culture" in the anthropological sense, not as the parlor-aesthetes use it. And by "music" I mean the entire body of systematically organized and socially utilized sonorous patterns—not merely carefully selected segments thereof. Between the music of the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana and the music that is heard in the concert halls of Buenos Aires lies a wide gulf. But it is a gulf that our cultural perception must be willing and able to traverse at a moment's notice, for the music of the Bush Negroes is no less a part of human culture than the sophisticated tonal amenities of the *porteños.* It is a significant fact that folk and primitive music loom much larger in the musical preoccupations of Latin Americans than is the case in North America. Almost every Latin-American composer appears to double as a folklorist or musical ethnologist. Consider a work such as Renato Almeida's monumental *Historia da Música Brasileira:* of its five-hundred-odd pages, nearly two-thirds are devoted to the primitive, folk and popular music of Brazil. And this section *precedes* the section dealing with art music, as though putting first things first. Indeed, the logic of this sequence becomes evident when we examine the development of art music in Brazil during the past seventy-five years or so, and notice the extent to which Brazilian composers have drawn creative sustenance from the reservoir of their traditional songs and dances. The catalogue of their works abounds in such titles as *batuque, congada, chôro, acalanto, ponteio, macumba, samba*—all inexplicable save by reference to the musico-ethnological background that produced these traditional forms. A similar situation prevails in other countries of Latin America, including those whose musical history remains to be written. It follows, therefore, that musical culture in Latin America rests largely on the foundation of popular tradition; or, more precisely, upon a close inter-relation between the popular tradition of folk music and the academic tradition of art music.

Folk music is very old, but the concept of folk music is comparatively new. The concept of an anonymous folk culture could acquire significance only by contrast with a body of individually created art works, or rather art works deliberately created and recognized as expressions of artistic individuality. I make this qualification because I wish to side-step the controversy regarding the "communal" versus the "individual" origin of folk music and folk poetry. The only point I wish to emphasize is that in discussing the music of the pre-Columbian civilizations in America we are dealing neither with "folk music" nor with "art music" in the modern acceptation of those terms. All music was traditional, because it was transmitted orally, since no method of musical notation existed. But these musical traditions were preserved by a body of professional musicians, carefully trained for the purpose, and the use of music was closely correlated with civic, religious and military functions. Speaking of music among the ancient nations, Dr. Curt Sachs writes: "Wherever the official

standard of an educational center was respected, there must have been law and logic, measure and reckoning." These conditions prevailed in pre-Columbian America, at least among the Aztecs and the Incas. We can say, therefore, that these peoples had a musical *system,* even though it was on a comparatively primitive level.

All the early Spanish chroniclers agree on the prominence of music and dance in Aztec life. Some of them, it is true, felt toward Aztec music the way some people today feel about a neighbor's radio—they regarded it as an infernal noise from which they would gladly escape if they could. This seems to have been the attitude of that hardy soldier and forthright chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo, when he wrote, "From the altars and temples of the idols the cursed drums and trumpets never ceased to sound." Referring to the time when Cortés and his soldiers stood before Tenochtitlán, Bernal wrote: "We heard from the great temple . . . a drum which had a most doleful sound, like an instrument of demons, . . . and together with this, many rattles and conch-shells and trumpets and whistles." After all, Bernal Díaz was one of a handful of soldiers in a strange and hostile land. Under the circumstances we could scarcely expect him to conduct a class in appreciation of Aztec music. But his nomenclature sums up neatly enough the instrumental resources of the Aztecs: drums, rattles, tubular trumpets made of wood, cane or clay; and various types of whistles. Chroniclers who came after the conquest, such as Sahagún, Mendieta and Torquemada, supplied additional details. They distinguished between the two principal types of Aztec drums: the *huéhuetl,* or large vertical drum; and the *teponaztli,* or slit-drum, placed horizontally and capable of producing two different tones. Melodically, the musical resources of the Aztecs were very limited. They had only one instrument, a sort of vertical flute, capable of playing a real melody. In this respect the Ayamara and Kechua Indians of the Incan empire were more advanced. They had two instruments, the *quena,* or flute, and the *antara,* or panpipe, both capable of producing rather elaborate melodies. All the evidence—including that of the pre-Columbian instruments which have been preserved—seems to indicate that the musical system of the Aztecs and the Incas was based on the pentatonic scale. Harmony was unknown.

Since this is not an archeological treatise, we are not primarily concerned with excavating long-buried foundations of musical culture. Our primary concern is with the foundations upon which rests the present living structure of music in Latin America. It is sufficient to signalize the existence of the great pre-Columbian civilizations in which music was organized with varying degrees of complexity. The extent to which pre-Columbian musical traditions may have survived the conquest and the degree to which they may have influenced the creative activity of composers in Latin America are matters that can only be discussed with reference to conditions prevailing in each particular country.

We know what impression the music of the Indians made upon the white men who first heard it. It would be interesting to get the Indian's point of view for a change. But that is left to our imagination. We may suppose that the Indians were at first bewildered, then impressed, and finally—in many cases—fascinated by the music of the Europeans, with its array of compelling melodic instruments, its harmonic richness and polyphonic complexity. Padre Antonio Sepp, one of the Jesuit missionaries in the La Plata region, wrote in his *Relación del viaje por el Uruguay* (1691): "On our boats we played musical instruments and sang, and it happened that the barbarians of that coast heard us from afar; and attracted by the music, they drew near, naked as they were, and listened with great delight *(con sumo gusto)* to these melodies." Padre Carrasco, S. J., executed an oil painting of a similar scene, depicting a group of Jesuit missionaries floating along a river on a log raft, playing and singing, while a group of savages presses close to the river's edge in what appears to be an attitude of fascinated attention. The musicianly missionaries are playing a harp, a lute and a violin.

All this simply emphasizes the fact that the Church played a tremendously important rôle in the introduction of European music throughout the vast virgin regions that were being transformed into "Latin America." The Spaniards aimed at a double conquest: spiritual and material. They professed a faith which imposed zealous proselytism on its adherents, and music was the most powerful ally in their campaign of conversion and Christian education. Furthermore, the Catholic Church had no narrow-minded restrictions in its attitude toward music. Gregorian chant, elaborate polyphony, semi-popular *villancicos, a cappella* or accompanied singing—all was admitted and recognized and used to the best advantage. Moreover, the missionaries believed in the recreational value of secular music and dancing. They introduced guitars and taught the Indians the folk dances of Spain. With their *autos sacramentales,* or religious plays, they laid the foundations of the lyric theatre in the New World. Because the Church needed music, music became an essential part of the fabric of Colonial culture in Latin America.

There is a tendency in America to be ashamed of our colonial culture, to regard it as something which we should either ignore or attempt to live down. In the case of music, neglect and ignorance have prevailed. Let me tell an anecdote, which is not intended to cast discredit on any individual or any country, but simply to illustrate a general condition. Some years ago the director of the National School of Music in Caracas was rummaging through the cellar of the school building and came across a large wooden box hidden under the cellar stairs. Out of curiosity he opened it, and—much to his surprise—found it was full of musical manuscripts. Further investigation disclosed that these were scores by Venezuelan composers from the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. They were mostly religious compositions for chorus, soli and

orchestra. The manuscripts were studied, catalogued and copied by the Venezuelan composer and musicologist Juan Bautista Plaza, who has recently published a selection of this music under the auspices of the Venezuelan Government. Just a few weeks ago we had the privilege of broadcasting one of these compositions on the music series of NBC's University of the Air. It was the motet "In Monte Oliveti" by Cayetano Carreño, who was choirmaster of Caracas Cathedral for forty years, and who was also the grandfather of the famous Venezuelan pianist Teresa Carreño. I assure you it was a beautiful work, well worth hearing, not once but many times. Like other works by this group of early Venezuelan composers—including José Angel Lamas, Juan Manuel Olivares, and Juan José Landaeta—Carreño's motet should be known and accepted as an American classic, a memorable segment of our musical heritage.

But I almost forgot the moral which should adorn my tale. The wooden box discovered under the cellar stairs symbolizes the heritage of colonial music in Latin America. Ignored and neglected, it has been left to gather dust through the generations. And is the publication of this music at long last symbolical of a renaissance? I think so. We cannot tell what discoveries or what disappointments may await us in other musical archives of Latin America. Here and there we have definite knowledge of certain things worth preserving—and not merely as museum pieces. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, there is the music of José Mauricio Nunes Garcia, who lived from 1767 to 1830, and some of whose works have been published in the *Arquivo de Música Brasileira* edited by Dr. Correa de Azevedo. Much of the music of this prolific composer appears to have been lost, but enough remains to indicate a powerful and original talent, justifying his reputation as one of the greatest creative figures of the late colonial period. I can speak with personal knowledge of José Mauricio's *Tantum Ergo* for voices and wind instruments, a remarkably original work which we broadcast some time ago on "Music of the New World." In colonial Bogotá there was Juan de Herrera, whose Requiem Mass dates from 1704; and in Santiago de Chile, in the late 18th century, we find José de Campderrós, fifteen of whose compositions, including two complete masses, are extant. Going northward to Mexico City we hear of the 16th-century polyphonist Hernando Franco, whose manuscripts are now being collected and edited; and later, in the first part of the 18th century, we encounter Manuel Zumaya, composer of the first Mexican opera, and Antonio de Salazar, choirmaster of Mexico Cathedral and composer of several very attractive *villancicos*, or part-songs in semi-popular style. Eventually, perhaps, we shall see the publication of a comprehensive collection, a sort of "Monuments of Music in the Western Hemisphere," a vast coöperative enterprise of American musicology, which shall make available with scholarly completeness and accuracy the historical heritage of music in the Americas.

The struggles for political independence which came to a climax during the first decades of the 19th century had their repercussions, both immediate and remote, in the musical life of Latin America. I do not refer simply to the rise of patriotic music, since the significance of this is mainly political. However, the fact that national songs and airs of popular origin acquired patriotic significance through their association with the movement for independence is of particular importance. The military bands of the liberating armies, which played for the enjoyment of the populace in every public square, included in their repertory not only the new patriotic marches, but also such popular creole dances as the *pericón*, the *cuando* and the *cielito*. As I have written elsewhere, "The military bands with their public outdoor concerts inaugurated an era of democratic music-making, in which patriotic and popular elements were closely linked." We must consider, moreover, the remarkable circulation of music which took place through the movements of the liberating armies. San Martín brings his army across the Andes from Argentina to Chile. With him comes the *cuando* and takes root in Chile. He goes north to Peru, where his soldiers pick up the *zambacueca* and carry it back to Chile, where it becomes the national dance under the name of *cueca*. I am not attempting to trace any trajectories with scientific accuracy, but merely to indicate the general process of musical dissemination which took place during the wars for independence. It is during this period that we witness the emergence and crystalization of those popular musical forms which eventually were to provide material for the development of musical nationalism in Latin America.

It should not be assumed that political independence—which furthermore was not achieved simultaneously throughout Latin America—was immediately followed by a corresponding manifestation of artistic independence. The most notable—or at least the most successful—Latin-American composer of the 19th century, the Brazilian Carlos Gomes, wrote operas so thoroughly Italian in style that they were acclaimed in Italy. It is true that his most famous opera, *O Guarany*, is based on an indigenous subject; but that does not make it any less Italian, because, after all, many European operas have been based on American subjects. To my mind the essential fact is that Carlos Gomes was a highly competent composer. His music, heard today, is still effective when taken on its own terms. In what American musical tradition could he have found a model for his grand operas? There was no American tradition of grand opera (there is none today, for that matter). Gomes took the best model he could find, and imitated it successfully. He represents the competent professionalism that is so rare among American composers of the 19th century. I do not think that is a negligible value. I think the barrenness of American music during the 19th century is due not so much to the lack of potential creative talent, as to the lack of competent professional training and the lack of a well-organized musical life in which

the composer has ample opportunity to exercise his professional activity. And I think the same holds true of several Latin-American countries today. Creatively speaking, music in Latin America during the 19th century was largely amateurish imitation of European patterns. Its amateurishness is a more serious fault than its imitativeness. I am aware that this statement will be challenged by those critics who condone any degree of incompetence if it is suitably camouflaged in the colors of chauvinism. They are the extremists of "musical Americanism." I shall deal with them later.

The doctrine of musical nationalism, which maintains that each country should create its musical art works on the foundation of its traditional folk music, gained considerable impetus in Europe during the second half of the 19th century. Typical manifestations were the Russian national school represented by the so-called "Five," and the movement for musical nationalism in Spain headed by Felipe Pedrell and carried into the 20th century by his pupils, Albéniz, Granados and Falla. As I have elsewhere stated, musical nationalism was an obvious means of self-assertion for those nations whose creative potentialities in music had long lain dormant or were yet to be realized. It was only natural, therefore, that it should be taken up by the countries of Latin America which were struggling for artistic self-expression. The movement began sporadically here and there, with no chronological or ideological uniformity. Brazilian critics profess to find seeds of nationalism in the music of Carlos Gomes. Perhaps they are right. One needs a very intimate knowledge of Brazilian music to judge of such matters. At all events, the earliest definite manifestations of nationalism in Brazilian music appear to date from the 1860's, when Brasilio Itiberê da Cunha wrote his *Sertaneja,* a Brazilian rhapsody for piano which Liszt is said to have included in his repertory. Later, in the realm of symphonic music, came the *Suite Brasileira* of Alexandre Levy, which concludes with a *samba.* This dates from about 1890. Meanwhile, in Mexico Julio Ituarte published his *Aires Nacionales,* and in Havana Ignacio Cervantes brought out his *Danzas Cubanas.* These were straws in the wind. And soon there could be no doubt as to which way the wind was blowing. As I suggested earlier in this paper, one has only to glance at the catalogues of contemporary Latin-American music in order to appreciate the extent to which it is dominated by musical nationalism. Rare indeed is the title that does not have some folkloristic or national connotation: *Danzas Argentinas* by Julián Aguirre; *Sinfonía Argentina* by Juan José Castro; *Bachianas Brasileiras* by Villa-Lobos; *Toada em Moda Paulista* by Camargo Guarnieri; *Tres Tonadas en estilo popular* by the Chilean Humberto Allende; *Suite Cubana* by García Caturla; *Sinfonía India* by Carlos Chávez; *Acentos de América* by the Uruguayan Vicente Ascone; and so on, *ad infinitum.*

Musical nationalism has made great forward strides in Latin America during the present century thanks largely to the wholehearted adherence

of two remarkable creative personalities: Carlos Chávez of Mexico and Heitor Villa-Lobos of Brazil. The former, born at the turn of the century, derives his doctrines of musical nationalism from the ideologies of the Mexican Revolution. He states categorically: "We deny the *professional Mexican music* prior to our own epoch, for it is not the fruit of the true Mexican tradition." The implication in underlining the words "professional Mexican music" is that only the folk or popular tradition of earlier times has any value for Chávez. He does not hesitate to give his stamp of approval to a popular Mexican song of the 19th century called *La Paloma Azul,* even though he admits that it shows the influence of Italian opera which was so prevalent throughout Latin America. The other implication of the statement quoted above is that Chávez and his followers have finally succeeded in discovering and expressing "the true Mexican tradition" in music. Presumably this "true Mexican tradition" is exemplified in such works as Chávez's *Sinfonía India,* his *Cantos de México,* his ballet *El Fuego Nuevo,* and his "proletarian symphony" *Llamadas.* It is not quite clear whether this tradition is also exemplified in his *Concerto for Four Horns and Orchestra,* and his *Sinfonía de Antígona.* One critic, indeed, professes to find a Mexican background even in the most "abstract" compositions of Chávez. Thus, regarding the *Sonatina 36,* the *Third Sonata* and the *Piano Preludes,* Herbert Weinstock writes: "They are unsensuous, spare, characterized by the harshness of Mexico's highland landscapes." Discussing the earlier works of Chávez, the same critic writes: "The spirit of the music, its melodic and harmonic character, is derivative, European." Apparently the words "derivative" and "European" are the two most disparaging words in Mr. Weinstock's critical vocabulary, even though they could justly be applied to the music of Mozart. Mr. Weinstock has evidently overlooked the fact that much modern European music is "unsensuous," "spare" and "characterized by harshness," although it was written by composers who may never have seen Mexico's highland landscapes.

Do not get the impression that I am attacking musical nationalism. To my mind it should neither be attacked nor defended, but simply allowed to run its natural course. If I may quote myself again, I should like to repeat what I have said on this subject: "The historical function of folkloristic nationalism appears to be that of enabling musically backward or retarded nations to achieve self-confident expression by the assertion of characteristic traits which derive their force from the cumulative action of native tradition." I do not oppose musical nationalism any more than I would oppose a river taking its natural course to the sea. But I would not wish to fall into the error of mistaking the river for the sea.

Yet that is precisely what many champions of musical nationalism are doing. They concentrate on the narrow stream of nationalism and never look at the broad sea of music beyond. Every piece of flotsam and jetsam that floats on the nationalistic stream appears magnificent to their eyes,

even though it will be swept away as rubbish in the broad sea of universal values. Lack of objectivity and distortion of artistic values are the chief defects of a nationalistic point of view in aesthetic matters. Much harm can be done if we allow ourselves to be persuaded that a composer who uses an array of native instruments—*maracas, bongós, güiros, claves,* etcetera—is *ipso facto* more "American" and therefore more "significant" than a composer who writes only for string orchestra. One will go very far indeed before finding two works that do more credit to "American" music than the *Cinco Piezas Breves* by Domingo Santa Cruz of Chile and the *Fuga Criolla* by Juan B. Plaza of Venezuela—both of which happen to be written for string orchestra. The composition of Santa Cruz is entirely non-national in character; at least, I do not believe anyone could guess the composer's nationality from the music. Plaza's fugue is based on a theme derived from the *joropo,* a typical dance of Venezuela. Yet, if pressed for an opinion, I think we should have to admit that of the two works, the one by Santa Cruz is perhaps more striking and original, regarded *as music. As music*—there is the crux of the whole matter. Until we learn to think purely in terms of musical values, unswayed by nationalistic considerations, we will not have outgrown our artistic adolescence.

The danger of slogans like "musical nationalism" or "musical Americanism" is that they reduce creative values to the level of a political campaign. Champions of musical Americanism urge the composers of this hemisphere to create music which will be "unmistakably American." The aim of the American composer, according to one of these writers, should be "to attain a production thoroughly American in its substance, *entirely apart from European art.*" (The italics are mine.) The proposition is manifestly absurd, yet it appeared in a widely reprinted article on "Latin-American Composers and Their Problems." The Latin-American composer has plenty of problems, most of which he shares with his confrères the world over, dealing with such matters as how to get an adequate professional training, how to get his music performed, and how to make a living out of his profession. But writing music "entirely apart from European art" is certainly not his problem. Creatively speaking, the problem of the Latin-American composer today is what the problem of every composer has always been: to acquire such mastery over the traditional techniques of his craft that his individuality may be free to assert itself in original creative expression. We should give him every possible encouragement and recognition, based solely on his ability to produce fine music, without chauvinistic restrictions. And in the matter of originality, let us remember the words of Miguel de Unamuno: "To be original is not to be aboriginal."

LAS TENDENCIAS ACTUALES DE LA FILOSOFIA EN MEXICO

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Un observador que se interesara por conocer el estado actual de la cultura en México, advertiría que dentro de ella han adquirido una gran extensión las actividades filosóficas. En la Universidad un buen número de eminentes profesores de filosofía enseñan las más variadas ramas de esta disciplina y numerosos estudiantes siguen con gran interés tales cursos, al mismo tiempo que algunos de ellos realizan investigaciones importantes, dirigidos por sus maestros. La producción de obras filosóficas aumenta de año en año. Es también abundante la publicación de artículos filosóficos en varias revistas especiales.[1] Aparte de esta producción original, las editoriales más serias publican con frecuencia traducciones de obras modernas o clásicas del pensamiento europeo.[2] La Universidad de México inició el año pasado la publicación de una colección de clásicos que comprende la traducción directa del griego al castellano de casi todo el pensamiento filosófico helénico.[3] Estos libros representan la primera versión directa de la filosofía griega a la lengua española. Con tales datos se puede tener una prueba objetiva del volumen de las actividades actuales de la filosofía en México.

Esta actividad no es precisamente nueva en nuestra historia, pues el cultivo de la filosofía data de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, apenas fundada la Universidad Real y Pontificia de México. El interés filosófico ha tenido altas y bajas en nuestra historia, según que se han presentado circunstancias favorables o contrarias a su desarrollo, pero nunca se ha roto la continuidad del trabajo filosófico a lo largo del tiempo. Los maestros de los mexicanos han sido los grandes pensadores europeos y casi siempre

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[1]Así la revista *Filosofía y Letras* y el *Boletín Bibliográfico del Centro de Estudios Filosóficos*, que publican sobre todo notas bibliográficas. Publican también artículos filosóficos, *Cuadernos Americanos, Letras de México, Hijo Pródigo, Abside, Futuro, Occidente*, etc.

[2]Estas editoriales son el *Fondo de Cultura Económica, El Colegio de México* y la *Universidad de México;* son las principales, pero no las únicas.

[3]Con el título de "Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Mexicana" (textos bilingües), se han publicado hasta la fecha cuatro volúmenes: I Vol. *Eutifrón, Critón* y *Apología*, texto griego y español, traducción, introducción y notas de J. D. García Bacca; II Vol. *Banquete e Ión*, texto griego y español, traducción, introducción y notas de J. D. García Bacca; III. Vol. *Tratados Filosóficos* de Séneca, texto latino y español, traducción, introducción y notas de José Gallegos Rocafull; y IV Vol. *Conspiración de Catilina*, de Salustio, texto latino y español, traducción, introducción y notas de Agustín Millares Carlo. El *Colegio de México* ha publicado, en colaboración con los miembros del *Centro de Estudios Filosóficos*, cuatro volúmenes de los *Presocráticos*, cuya traducción, introducción y notas fueron encomendadas a J. D. García Bacca. Es digno de mencionarse aquí el grueso volumen destinado a *Parménides*, que continene la traducción directa del *Poema* del filósofo de Elea y un estudio de interpretacion filológico-filosófico del clásico poema.

las variaciones en la dirección de las doctrinas, han corrido paralelamente a las variaciones del pensamiento europeo. Es decir que nuestra filosofía ha sido importada de Europa y hemos seguido fielmente sus enseñanzas, como un discípulo sigue a su maestro. Sin embargo, en estos últimos tiempos, el pensamiento mexicano, más conciente de su función, se ha esforzado por encontrar un camino propio que responda mejor a los problemas de nuestra cultura, como trataré de hacerlo ver en el curso de esta conferencia sobre las corrientes actuales de la Filosofía en México.

A fines del siglo pasado la filosofía que imperaba en México era el positivismo, convertido en doctrina oficial de la Universidad durante el régimen de D. Benito Juárez. La adopción del positivismo no se debió exclusivamente a razones teóricas, sino a circunstancias políticas y sociales a las que el positivismo proporcionaba un apoyo y una confirmación doctrinal.[4] Los mexicanos han visto siempre en la filosofía no sólo el valor de su contenido ideológico, sino también su valor de utilidad como instrumento que aplicar a la solución de problemas sociales y políticos del país.

La renovación del ambiente filosófico de México coincidió con la revolución de 1910. Fué obra de una joven generación de intelectuales que se agruparon para formar una sociedad que se llamó *El Ateneo de la Juventud.*[5] En este grupo se encontraban Antonio Caso, José Vasconcelos, Alfonso Reyes, que después han adquirido renombre continental. Pero quien desde el principio encabezó ese movimiento filosófico fué Antonio Caso, el hombre a quien se debe el resurgimiento de la filosofía en México.

El positivismo había pretendido desterrar de la conciencia mexicana todo credo trascendente, ya fuera religioso o metafísico, para imponer como única verdad cierta aquella que emanara de la ciencia. Esta abstención no podía sostenerse largo tiempo, porque el espíritu no puede contentarse con puros conocimientos positivos y en realidad existía entre la clase culta el anhelo de superar el positivismo y encontrar una doctrina filosófica que diera satisfacción a las necesidades trascendentes del espíritu. Como intérprete de estos deseos vagos apareció Antonio Caso, que encontró una atmósfera propicia para combatir el positivismo con razones filosóficas y a formar una doctrina que rehabilitara los valores del espíritu y la metafísica. El espiritualismo de Caso era una versión de ideas que ya por el año de 1910 se propagaban en Europa, defendidas por grandes filósofos, como los franceses Boutroux y Bergson. Con un criterio ecléctico Caso había seleccionado del pensamiento contemporáneo un conjunto de ideas sobre el conocimiento, la moral, el arte, la metafísica, etc., mediante las cuales formar una concepción del mundo y de la vida social e íntima del hombre, de un nivel muy superior al positivismo y naturalismo que caracterizaban las ideas corrientes en la época anterior. Su concepción del mundo está

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[4]Véase mi *Historia de la Filosofía en México,* México, 1943, y los dos volúmenes sobre *El Positivismo en México,* por Leopoldo Zea, México, 1943 y 1944.

[5]Sobre el *Ateneo de la Juventud* véase mi libro *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México,* 1938.

expuesta en un libro titulado *La existencia como economía, como desinterés y como caridad.*[6] La economía a que se refiere Caso no es la economía social, sino la ciencia, a la que considera, siguiendo al pragmatismo, como un conocimiento que simplifica y esquematiza prácticamente la realidad, para servir a las necesidades de la vida y no a las exigencias de una razón puramente lógica y especulativa. La inteligencia, decía Bergson, es una elegante solución a los problemas de la vida; su destino no es servir a la especulación sino a la acción.[7] De esta manera las verdades de la ciencia no pueden enseñarnos sobre lo que es la realidad en sí. Tienen sobre todo el valor de una técnica para actuar en la naturaleza y hacerla servir a los intereses humanos. La filosofía tiene que valerse de otros medios para llegar al conocimiento metafísico de la realidad. Este medio es una facultad especial que en la tradición filosófica ha sido designada con el nombre de *intuición.* Pero si, en el conocimiento científico, la inteligencia se manifiesta sometida a los intereses de la vida del hombre, éste es capaz, en otros campos, de actuar desinteresadamente como cuando se inspira en un deseo de realizar el bien moral, o es un artista que va tras un ideal de belleza. El hombre no es pues sólo un ser sometido al determinismo de las leyes de la naturaleza, sino una persona dotada de un espíritu libre y desinteresado. De un modo ecléctico concilia Caso las doctrinas filosóficas más avanzadas de aquel momento con la tradición cristiana y los valores eternos del humanismo clásico. Fueron estas cualidades de su doctrina las que le dieron relieve prominente y una pronta aceptación en una atmósfera enrarecida, que reclamaba ya un credo filosófico para justificar los valores superiores del mundo y de la vida humana.[8]

En la acción universitaria de Caso como profesor, la propagación de su doctrina era lo de menos. Lo más importante era que despertaba el interés por la reflexión y el pensamiento, mostrando a sus discípulos el amplísimo horizonte de la historia de la filosofía. Desde 1911 varias generaciones han pasado por sus cátedras, aprendiendo no solamente una serie de doctrinas, sino lo que vale más para la formación del espíritu, ejercitándose en la severa disciplina del pensamiento riguroso, que es lo propio de todo método filosófico. Sería inexplicable sin Caso el resurgimiento filosófico que se observa actualmente en México y que constituye el fruto de una labor de más de veinticinco años realizada por los hombres que se formaron en la escuela de aquel maestro. Pero los intereses que dirigen al pensamiento ya son distintos ahora a los que originaron este vasto movimiento filosófico. Puede decirse que nada de lo que la filosofía ha producido en Europa hasta

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[6]Reimpreso últimamente por la Secretaría de Educación en México. Es el libro más importante de Caso, porque en él expone su doctrina ecléctica.

[7]Véase mi artículo sobre el concepto de la filosofía de Bergson, publicado en el *Homenaje a Bergson,* Centro de Estudios Filosóficos, México, 1940.

[8]Sobre Caso véase mi *Historia de la Filosofía en México;* también el libro *Antonio Caso,* de la colección *Pensamiento en América.* Es una antología de la obra de Caso, con un estudio preliminar de Eduardo García Maynez.

antes de esta guerra es ignorado en México. Las más destacadas doctrinas de los últimos tiempos, como la Fenomenología de Hüsserl y el existencialismo de Heidegger, han sido cuidadosamente estudiadas y discutidas. Nuestro pensamiento está maduro para aventurarse ya por cuenta propia a la investigación de nuevas soluciones que estén acordes con nuestra posición en este mundo, es decir, el de habitantes del Nuevo Continente. Me parece que la gran crisis de la guerra encierra para nuestra cultura una lección no menos valiosa que para nuestra vida política y social.

Esta guerra nos ha hecho comprender la necesidad de vivir ateniéndonos a nuestros propios recursos. Vale también esta afirmación para la cultura intelectual, y por consiguiente, significa que debemos esforzarnos por crear nuestras propias ideas, nuestra propia filosofía. En este sentido, otro de los filósofo del *Ateneo de la Juventud*, José Vasconcelos, piensa que cada raza que se levanta debe construir su propia filosofía. "Comencemos entonces haciendo vida propia y ciencia propia. Si no se liberta primero el espíritu, jamás lograremos redimir la matera." "Vasconcelos proclama desde luego la unidad étnica y cultural de los pueblos ibéricos de la América, que nos da ante el mundo una personalidad propia. La América es una novedad. . . ." "Bien visto y hablando con toda verdad, casi no nos reconoce el europeo, ni nosotros nos reconocemos en él. Tampoco sería legítimo hablar de un retorno a lo indígena . . . porque no nos reconocemos en el indígena ni el indio nos reconoce a nosotros. La América Española es de esta suerte lo nuevo por excelencia, novedad no sólo de territorio, también de Alma. ¿Qué importa que el materialismo spenceriano nos tuviere condenados, si hoy resulta que podemos juzgarnos como una especie de reserva de la humanidad, como una promesa de un futuro que sobrepujará a todo tiempo anterior? Es indispensable afirmar nuestra voluntad y reunir fuerzas para el cumplimiento de nuestra misión." Lanza Vasconcelos la idea de una futura "raza cósmica" que será una superación de estirpes, una "raza síntesis" hecha con el tesoro de las anteriores y con la sangre de todos los pueblos y que tendrá su asiento en la parte ibérica del continente americano.[9]

En 1921 fué designado Vasconcelos Ministro de Educación Pública y de esta manera se asignaba a un filósofo la tarea de educar a todo un pueblo. Con un sentido de justicia social trazó un plan de educación, en el que se pretendía extender la escuela a toda la población del país, de manera de dar a todos la misma oportunidad de educarse.[10] Incluía también ese plan la idea de alentar y promover el desarrollo de una cultura nacional. En efecto, durante aquellos años empezó a producirse un fenómeno que podríamos llamar el redescubrimiento de México. Toda época de crisis tiene la

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[9]S. Ramos, *Historia de la Filosofía en México;* también véanse el libro de J. Sánchez Villaseñor *La Filosofía de Vasconcelos,* Méx., 1938; el libro de la colección *Pensamiento en América* dedicado a Vasconcelos, con una selección y un estudio de Genaro Fernández MacGregor; y la *Antología* de Vasconcelos, con un estudio preliminar de Antonio Castro Leal.

[10]Véase S. Ramos, *Veinte años de Educación en México,* 1941.

virtud de obligar al hombre a meditar en los problemas que le atañen directamente no sólo en lo personal sino también a su pueblo y aun a la especie humana en general. México atravesaba por entonces las crisis de la revolución y era afectado igualmento por la crisis mundial que provocó la guerra de 1914. En estas condiciones no es extraño que entre la clase culta surgiera vivamente la conciencia de la nacionalidad y que muchos de sus miembros se plantearan con valor los problemas de México en toda su desnudez. La esperanza de una cultura con personalidad propia cobraba fuerza al aparecer la obra de literatos, poetas y artistas mexicanos que revelaban algunos de los rasgos originales de nuestra vida. Tal hacían, por ejemplo, Ramón López Velarde y Manuel José Othon en la poesía, Mariano Azuela en sus novelas, Diego Rivera y Clemente Orozco en la pintura. Era natural que los pensadores se sintieran estimulados para orientar sus meditaciones y ocuparse principalmente de las cuestiones mexicanas.

En el campo de la filosofía las incitaciones del ambiente no podían hacer olvidar la necesidad de informarse y estudiar concienzudamente las ideas filosóficas de ese momento. Un hecho debe ser consignado por su importancia en la orientación filosófica, no sólo de México, sino de toda la América hispana. Ese hecho fué la aparición de la filosofía de José Ortega y Gasset, pensador español que desde 1921 empieza a adquirir un gran relieve en nuestro continente, primero, con la publicación de sus libros, segundo, con la publicación de la *Revista de Occidente* que él dirige y, tercero, con la traducción al español de las más importantes obras filosóficas, principalmente alemanas, que según Ortega representarían lo que él llamaba el "pensamiento del siglo XX." La biblioteca de la *Revista de Occidente* seleccionada por Ortega pretendía pues difundir en todos los pueblos de habla española ideas novísimas que eran consideradas como la última palabra en materia filosófica. Los libros originales de Ortega ejercieron una gran seducción por el magnífico estilo en que estaban escritos. En verdad para juzgar a Ortega no puede separarse la forma externa del contenido doctrinario, porque en el estilo mismo tiene parte considerable la novedad de las ideas, su valor filosófico propio. No era Ortega un escritor que manejara las ideas como tema literario, sino un auténtico filósofo que sabía presentar sus meditaciones en un lenguaje brillante, claro, pleno de dignidad y de elegancia. Era un estilo de expresión filosófica que no tenía precedente en la prosa española.[11]

Uno de los libros de Ortega que más impresión causaron en México fué el *Tema de Nuestro Tiempo*. La razón era obvia. En ese libro Ortega pretende explicar los problemas fundamentales de la vida contemporánea,

[11]La bibliografía de José Ortega y Gasset es abundantísima. Entre los libros que tuvieron mayor resonancia en América, aparte del citado, se encuentran, *La Deshumanización del Arte*, *El Espectador*, en 8 volúmenes, y *La Rebelión de las Masas*. José Sánchez Villaseñor ha publicado un estudio sobre Ortega y Gasset, el primero en lengua española. La exposición de la doctrina del filósofo español es buena aunque los juicios adolecen de la limitación del punto de vista escolástico, que es la doctrina propia del crítico.

dando el ejemplo de cómo una filosofía puede conectarse con el mundo de las realidades más inmediatas al hombre. Lo que desde hace mucho tiempo deseamos y exigimos de la filosofía es que, sin perder su categoría propia, se mantenga en estrecho contacto con la vida y sea capaz de explicarnos los problemas que ella nos plantea. En el *Tema de Nuestro Tiempo,* Ortega sostiene que la razón humana no es nunca una función solitaria y aislada, sino que, al contrario, actúa siempre en estrecha colaboración con la vida, a la que tiene como misión especial aclarar y dar conciencia. Tan es así que puede, según Ortega, designarse con el nombre de *Razón vital* al órgano propio de la filosofía, sobre todo cuando ésta aborda los problemas referentes al hombre y a su historia. Si la filosofía es producto de esa *Razón vital,* ella está ligada por fuerza a las condiciones reales, históricas, sociales, nacionales en que ha surgido y presenta siempre una visión del Universo desde un punto de vista determinado, desde una perspectiva especial. "Cada vida es un punto de vista sobre el universo. En rigor lo que ella ve no lo puede ver otra. Cada individuo—persona, pueblo, época—, es un órgano insubstituíble para la conquista de la verdad." Estas ideas representan pues el mejor alegato que puede hacerse en favor de la posibilidad para nuestro continente de elaborar una filosofía americana.

Han ejercido también una influencia considerable las obras traducidas que se publicaron en la colección de la *Revista de Occidente,* como las *Investigaciones Lógicas,* de Hüsserl; las obras de Max Scheler, entre las que se cuenta su *Etica,* publicada hace pocos años y, en conexión con Scheler, la *Psicología* y la teoría del conocimiento moral, de Brentano; *La decadencia de Occidente,* de Oswald Spengler, que con sus profecías sobre la muerte inminente de la cultura occidental favoreció la concentración del pensamiento mexicano en sus problemas inmediatos; la *Ciencia Natural y Ciencia Cultural,* de Rickert, que sirvió para poner en claro la índole propia del conocimiento histórico, y otras obras más que sería largo enumerar en el breve espacio de una conferencia. ¿Qué direcciones generales nuevas enseñaron estos libros a los estudiosos mexicanos? En primer lugar habría que señalar la vigorosa corriente de la filosofía de los valores, antes ignorada en México, así como también sus importantes derivaciones hacia la filosofía de la cultura y la filosofía de la historia. Es casi una ley de la sociología del saber que las ramas de la filosofía que más prominente relieve adquieren en un país, están en correspondencia con las ciencias especiales que en éste tienen mayor desarrollo. Así como, por ejemplo, en los Estados Unidos de América tienen una gran extensión los estudios de las ciencias físico-matemáticas, en correspondencia ha preponderado la filosofía de las ciencias naturales. De manera semejante, como en México se han cultivado ampliamente la historia y algunas ciencias del espíritu, tiende a predominar la filosofía de la cultura. El desarrollo del arte, la poesía, por una parte, y los problemas morales creados por nuestras tensiones internas, han impulsado el cultivo de la Ética y la Estética. Mas, por otra parte, la penetración de la fenomenología de Hüsserl vino a

intensificar el interés que tradicionalmente existe en México por la lógica y la teoría del conocimiento. El cultivo de la filosofía de Aristóteles a través de la escolástica durante el período colonial y, después en el siglo XIX, las discusiones lógicas suscitades por el positivismo y particularmente el estudio de la lógica de Suart Mill, han desarrollado en México una predilección por los estudios de Lógica que explican el interés con que se han acogido aquellas nuevas direcciones de la filosofía que acabamos de mencionar. Sería inoportuno en este lugar describir minuciosamente la variedad de cuestiones filosóficas que han sido estudiadas y discutidas en México. Baste decir que en nuestra Facultad de Filosofía existen numerosas cátedras sobre las más diversas ramas de la filosofía, en que distinguidos profesores enseñan las más recientes conquistas del pensamiento contemporáneo. La mayoría de estos profesores son ya continentalmente conocidos por sus publicaciones. Citaremos a Eduardo García Maynez, Francisco Larroyo, José Gaos, Leopoldo Zea, Juan David García Bacca, Juan Roura Parella, Eduardo Nicol, Oswaldo Robles, Joaquín Xirau. Cada uno representa un matiz original, tanto en la preferencia de los temas filosóficos como en la manera de tratarlos. García Maynez cultiva preferentemente la Ética y la Filosofía del Derecho. Ha sido uno de los principales intérpretes de la Filosofía de los Valores, tal como ésta se orienta en las obras de Max Scheler y Nicolai Hartman.[12] Francisco Larroyo pertenece a la escuela neo-Kantiana y es fundador de una revista, *La Gaceta de los neo-Kantianos de México.* Se ha dedicado al estudio y la enseñanza de la lógica entendida ampliamente como teoría de la ciencia. Ha enseñado Historia de la Filosofía (tradujo al español recientemente la famosa *Historia de la Filosofía* de Windelband), Ética, pero actualmente tiene la exclusiva como profesor de la Filosofía de la Educación en nuestra Facultad.[13] José Gaos es considerado como un maestro ejemplar que reúne en torno suyo a un grupo de discípulos a los que enseña y dirige personalmente en sus trabajos filosóficos. Es un gran promotor de vocaciones y director de la formación espiritual de sus alumnos, a quienes guía por los más diversos campos de la fiosofía. Enseña Historia de la Filosofía y Metafísica, y en el presente dirige un seminario sobre el pensamiento mexicano del siglo XVIII. Es discípulo de Ortega y Gasset e infatigable traductor de las más importantes obras del pensamiento alemán contemporáneo. Ha dado cima últimamente a la hazaña de traducir *Ser y Tiempo,* de Heidegger, uno de los textos más difíciles de la reciente literatura filosófica. Hace

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[12]Los libros más importantes de Eduardo García Maynez son *Introducción al Estudio del Derecho* (dos vol.) ; *Ética* (de Bienes, Empírica, Formal y Valorativa) ; *El Problema filosófico-jurídico de la validez del derecho; El Derecho Natural en los Filósofos Presocráticos; La Libertad como Derecho y como Poder,* prólogo al Vol. de *Caso* de las Ediciones de la Secretaría de Educación Pública.

[13]Los libros más salientes de Francisco Larroyo son *Los Principios de la Ética Social; La Lógica de la Ciencia; Fundamentos Filosóficos de la Escuela Unificada; Bibliografía general del Socialismo; La Filosofía de los Valores; Historia de la Pedagogía* (dos vol.), traducción de la *Historia de la Filosofía,* de W. Windelband.

más de siete años que enseña en la Universidad de México y ha tenido ocasión de desarrollar su pensamiento original. Es sin duda uno de los profesores más enterados del movimiento mundial de la Filosofía.[14] Juan David García Bacca es continentalmente conocido por sus libros *La Invitación al filosofar, Introducción al Filosofar,* la *Filosofía de las Ciencias, Tipos Históricos del Filosofar Físico, Parménides,* y los volúmnes de los *Presocráticos,* publicados en estos últimos años. García Bacca es uno de los filósofos más serios que escriben en lengua castellana. Su formación se encuentra enraizada en el pensamiento griego, pero está también a la altura de su tiempo y conoce a fondo la filosofía más reciente. Es quizá el único en México y tal vez en todos los países hispanos, que conoce las ciencias naturales y matemáticas al grado de poder consagrarse con éxito a la Filosofía de las Ciencias. Actualmente enseña Metafísica, y traduce del griego la obra entera de Platón. Juan Roura Parella es uno de los profesores distinguidos de Psicología. Ha publicado un libro sobre *Ciencia y Educacción* y una obra dedicada íntegramente al estudio de Eduardo Spranger, de quien fué discípulo en Alemania. Joaquín Xirau, de la Universidad de Barcelona, autor de varios libros, como *Amor y Mundo, Lo Eterno y lo Fugaz,* la filosofía de Hüsserl, dirige un seminario sobre pensamiento clásico con el nombre de *El Mundo del Hombre de Occidente,* y enseña un curso sobre filosofía francesa. Eduardo Nicol se dedica también a los estudios psicológicos y ha publicado un importante libro titulado *Psicología de las situaciones vitales.* Por último, existe en la Universidad una corriente filosófica que pretende volver a la tradición colonial cultivando la filosofía neo-tomista. No sería posible en este lugar examinar detenidamente las posiciones filosóficas de estos profesores. Mucho hay de común entre todos ellos, a pesar de la posición personal y la manera de abordar las cuestiones filosóficas. Todos mantienen su espíritu abierto a la colaboración, si se exceptúa el neo-tomismo que muestra la propensión al sectarismo, que en todos los tiempos ha caracterizado esa tendencia.[15]

Aquel grupo de filósofos no profesa pues una doctrina cerrada, ni mucho menos en tono dogmático. El dogmatismo se queda para las direcciones de pensamiento extremistas, que de una parte están representadas por la neo-escolástica, y de otra por el marxismo. El foco de las actividades filosóficas está centrado en la Universidad, especialmente en su Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Solamente el marxismo es una doctrina que se ha desarrollado fuera de los recintos académicos, y cuyo origen se encuentra

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[14]Son dignos de mencionarse los siguientes trabajos de José Gaos: *Antología Filosófica; La Filosofía de Maimónides; Dos ideas de la Filosofía; El último Nietzsche; Sobre el Auditorium de la Filosofía; Caracterización del Pensamiento Hispanoamericano; Estética y Arte,* etc.

[15]Oswaldo Robles, el jefe de esta dirección neo-tomista, ha publicado *Antropología filosófica* y *Propedéutica filosófica,* manual para uso de los estudiantes de filosofía, y una traducción sobre los tratados del alma de la *Fisica Speculatio,* de Fray Alonso de la Veracruz.

en el movimiento obrero surgido de la Revolución. En realidad el marxismo ha tenido en México más la significación de una bandera política que una posición filosófica. Con excepción de algunos miembros dirigentes del movimiento obrero, que han estudiado el marxismo en sus fuentes, la mayor parte de ellos carece de una preparación filosófica indispensable para entender a fondo la obra de Marx y su escuela.[16] Sólo últimamente en algunas escuelas para obreros se ha intentado una seria consideración de las doctrinas socialistas y de la concepción materialista de la historia. En la Universidad es estudiado el marxismo sólo como un momento en la historia de la filosofía, y se aplican a sus doctrinas, para enjuiciarlas, los puntos de vista críticos que son de rigor en el examen de las doctrinas del pasado.

La historia de la filosofía en México muestra un largo proceso de aprendizaje y asimilación del pensamiento europeo. Durante el período colonial, en que la enseñanza estuvo totalmente bajo el dominio de la Iglesia, la única filosofía que se conocía y estudiaba en nuestras Universidades era la escolástica de dirección aristotélico-tomista. Sin embargo, en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII fué inevitable una renovación del ambiente intelectual, ante la presión de las ideas modernas que, en su expansión mundial, traspasaron las fronteras de España y sus colonias. Pero antes de que sobreviniera la revolución de Independencia se había impuesto en México el racionalismo cartesiano,[17] que preparó a los descontentos con el dominio español para entender la filosofía política de la Ilustración francesa. Durante el siglo XIX se hizo sentir la influencia de la filosofía francesa, hasta la importación del positivismo en la época de Juárez. Pero también entonces empezaron a conocerse las doctrinas de los filósofos ingleses, y en la era positivista Spencer y Stuart Mill compartieron el dominio con Augusto Comte. En el siglo presente el horizonte se amplió de manera que en el panorama de los estudios se presenta la filosofía de todo el mundo, lo mismo la francesa, que la alemana o la sajona. Ciertamente, toda la filosofía que se ha cultivado en México es importada del Viejo Continente. ¿Pero en qué país de Europa no fué también la filosofía una importación? El único país que hizo filosofía sin traerla del exterior fué Grecia.[18]

Entre algunos pensadores mexicanos, principalmente jóvenes, apunta actualmente la idea de que para hacer filosofía debemos imitar lo que han

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[16]Vicente Lombardo Toledano, el jefe del movimiento obrero de México y fundador de la Universidad Obrera, hizo sus estudios de filosofía como discípulo de Antonio Caso. Fué Director y Profesor de Filosofía en la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, autor, entre otros trabajos, de *El sentido humanista de la Revolución Mexicana*, *Escritos Filosóficos*, *Etica*. Recientemente la Universidad Obrera ha editado un grueso volumen con sus discursos más importantes, entre los que se encuentran algunos relacionados con cuestiones filosóficas.

[17]El representante de la filosofía Cartesiana fué Benito Díaz de Gamarra, autor de los *Elementos de Filosofía Moderna*. Existe un estudio de Antonio Caso sobre este libro. Véase también mi ya citada *Historia de la Filosofía en México*.

[18]Véase a este respecto un artículo de García Bacca, en la revista *Hijo Pródigo*, titulado *La Filosofía en México*.

hecho los países europeos desde la Edad Media: volver al pensamiento clásico griego. Como la filosofía griega es la única de primera mano, su estudio directo nos permitiría seguir el mismo proceso que han recorrido los países europeos que vienen después de Grecia, para llegar a su filosofía. Pero este punto de vista sería unilateral si no se agregara, como la otra parte del método, la voluntad de pensar directamente en la realidad que nos circunda, en interpretar nuestras propias experiencias de la vida, de manera que la filosofía surja para dar una mayor conciencia a nuestro ser y a nuestro mundo. La piedra de toque de una filosofía americana tiene que ser la pregunta de en qué medida ayuda a comprender la esencia del ser americano, de su existencia y de su cultura. La filosofía americana tiene que ser una visión del mundo bajo la perspectiva de la existencia en este continente y tendrá la misma justificación que todas las concepciones filosóficas desde el punto de vista europeo. Todo depende, naturalmente, de que nos preparemos a esa tarea y seamos capaces de realizarla con la misma aptitud de los europeos. La filosofía americana en este sentido no sólo es una tarea deseable sino urgente, sobre todo en este momento en que atravesamos la dura crisis de la guerra.

El gran problema de México en el presente siglo ha sido el de definir y consolidar, en todos los órdenes de la vida y la cultura, su personalidad nacional. Fundado a raíz de la conquista como una colona española, sigue siendo en la centuria pasada, después de su emancipación, un país colonial por la naturaleza de sus instituciones y de su cultura, importadas del extranjero. Debemos confesar que la conciencia de esta situación determinó en los mexicanos un sentimiento de inferioridad.[19] Se pensaba que los mexicanos eran incapaces de la creación original, y que sólo podían arreglar su vida mediante la imitación de instituciones, de formas de vida y de cultura ajenas al país. Uno de los grandes pasos realizados para superar este conflicto espiritual ha sido la vuelta a la tierra nativa, con la voluntad como son. Conocernos a nosotros mismos ha sido una obra determinada por las crisis nacionales e internacionales que hemos vivido en el presente siglo, las cuales han provocado la concentración de nuestra conciencia en el examen de la verdad acerca de nuestro modo peculiar de ser. En esta obra han colaborado ciencias como la historia aplicada a cada una de las actividades de la vida, es decir, la economía, la vida social, la política, la cultura artística, literaria y filosófica. La historia ha sido en verdad un instrumento precioso para el conocimiento de nosotros mismos y para la revelación de valores insospechados en nuestra tradición, que han servido para recobrar la fe en nuestro porvenir y estimular las fuerzas para construirlo. A la revelación de nuestra realidad auténtica no sólo ha contribuido la historia sino también otras ciencias, como la economía, la sociología, la psicología, que se interesan actualmente sobre todo en la investigación de la realidad inmediata. No se puede pasar por

[19]Sobre esto véase mi libro *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*, 1938.

alto la obra que en este sentido han realizado el arte, la novela y la pintura, cuyos temas están tomados directamente de la vida mexicana.

La filosofía interviene por su parte en este amplio movimiento de volver a la tierra nativa, orientándolo y justificándolo. Nos hace ver que la cultura no es un mundo inanimado de seres y de formas abstractas, sino un organismo vivo, que no puede existir sino cuando hunde sus raíces profundamente en la tierra. Así como no existe planta cuyas raíces estén en todas partes, así la cultura sólo crece y se desarrolla cuando se alimenta de la savia que proporciona un suelo determinado. El conocimiento se produce también desde un punto de vista determinado, pues siempre el que conoce es un hombre concreto de carne y hueso que habita en un cierto lugar del planeta y que está afectado por el medio que lo circunda. Un conocimiento que carezca de la perspectiva que determina el punto de vista, está fuera del alcance humano.[20]

sóficos de la Historia de América (O'Gorman); *El Positivismo en México* (Zea); *Auge y Decadencia del Positivismo en México* (Zea); *Hidalgo, Reformador Intelectual* (G. Méndez Plancarte); *El Sistema Filosófico de Vasconcelos* (Villaseñor); *Fundamentos Filosóficos de la Escuela Unificada* (Larroyo); *Apuntaciones históricas sobre la Filosofía en México* (Valverde); *Bibliografía Filosófica Mexicana* (Valverde, 2 vol.); *El Hombre de Colón* (R. Iglesia); *Don Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra y Dávalos* (Alfonso Méndez Plancarte); *México* (A. Caso); la colección del *Estudiante Universitario* (50 Vol.); *Letras Mexicanas* (J. Jiménez Rueda); *Eclecticismo en México* (Junco) y *Visión de Anáhuac* (A. Reyes).

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[20]Pertenecen a esta dirección mexicanista las siguientes obras: *Fundamentos Filo-*

TENDENCIES IN PHILOSOPHY IN MEXICO TODAY

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Anyone interested in surveying the present state of culture in Mexico could scarcely fail to note the wider range of philosophic activities in recent years. In the University a goodly number of eminent professors of philosophy teach the varied branches of this discipline, and some of the numerous students who have manifested great interest in this field have, under the direction of their teachers, pursued investigations of a worth-while nature. The production of philosophic works is steadily increasing. Besides numerous original articles dealing with philosophy which are appearing in scholarly periodicals,[1] the most important publishing houses are issuing at frequent intervals translations of both modern and classic works that embody European thought.[2] Only last year, the University of Mexico undertook the publication of a collection embracing almost all of Hellenic philosophic thought translated from the original Greek directly into Spanish[3]—the first direct translations of Greek philosophy in the Spanish language. These facts offer concrete proof of the important place that philosophy holds in Mexico at the present time.

This activity is not entirely new in our history, for the study of philosophy dates from the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico was established. Interest in philosophy has had its ups and downs in our history, as circumstances were favorable or unfavorable to its development; but never throughout the years has the continuity of philosophic endeavor been entirely broken for any length of time. The teachers of the Mexicans have been the great thinkers of Europe, and the transitions in ideas in Mexico have almost always paralleled those in Europe. That is to say, our philosophy

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[1]For example, *Filosofía y Letras* and the *Boletín Bibliográfico del Centro de Estudios Filosóficos*, which publish in particular bibliographical notes. Articles of a philosophic nature are published also by *Cuadernos Americanos*, *Letras de México*, *Hijo Pródigo*, *Abside*, *Futuro*, and *Occidente*.

[2]Among these the principal ones are the *Fondo de Cultura Económica*, the *Colegio de México*, and the *Universidad de Mexico*.

[3]With the general title of *Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Mexicana*, four volumes have been published: I. *Euthyphro. Crito. The Apology;* II. *The Banquet* and *Ion;* both with Greek and Spanish texts, and the translation, introduction, and notes of J. D. García Bacca; III. *The Philosophical Writings* of Seneca, with Latin and Spanish texts, the translation, introduction and notes of José Gallegos Rocafull; IV. *De Coniuratione Catilinae* of Sallust, Spanish and Latin texts, the translation, introduction and notes of Agustín Millares Carlo. The *Colegio de México* has published, in collaboration with the members of the *Centro de Estudios Filosóficos*, four volumes of the *Presocráticos* edited by J. D. García Bacca. Also worthy of mention here is the large volume devoted to Parmenides, which includes a translation and a philological-philosophical interpretation of his classical poem.

was imported from Europe and that we accepted it faithfully, as a pupil does the line of thought of his teacher. In recent years, however, Mexican thought, more conscious of its function, has attempted to find a path better suited to the problems of our own culture, as I shall try to make clear in the course of this lecture on the present trends of philosophy in Mexico.

The philosophy that held sway in Mexico at the end of the last century was positivism, which had been adopted as the official doctrine of the University during the administration of Benito Juárez. The adoption of positivism was not brought about exclusively by theoretical reason but by political and social circumstances that found in it a support and a doctrinal confirmation.[4] For the Mexicans have always valued philosophy not only for its ideological content but for its utility as a tool to be employed in the solution of their social and political problems.

The revival of philosophic thought in Mexico coincided with the revolution of 1910. It was the work of a generation of young intellectuals who formed a society known as *El Ateneo de la Juventud*.[5] In this group were Antonio Caso, José Vasconcelos, and Alfonso Reyes, all of whom have since attained continental renown. The leader of that philosophic movement, from its very beginning, was Antonio Caso, the man to whom philosophy is primarily indebted for its revival in Mexico.

Positivism had sought to banish from Mexican consciousness every transcendent belief, whether religious or metaphysical, in order to set up, as the sole truth, the findings of science. Such limitations could not be long accepted. For the human mind cannot be content with purely positive knowledge, and the cultured class was ready to advance beyond positivism in the search for a philosophic doctrine that would meet the transcendental needs of the spirit. As an interpreter of these vague desires, Antonio Caso found the moment propitious both for combating positivism with philosophic reasoning and for formulating a doctrine that would lay stress again on the values of the spirit and of metaphysics. The spiritualism of Caso was the outgrowth of ideas propagated in Europe around 1910 and defended by such great philosophers as the French Boutroux and Bergson. Eclectic in his criterion, Caso chose from contemporary thought a body of ideas in regard to knowledge, morality, art, metaphysics, etc., with which to form a conception of the world and of the social and intimate life of man on a higher level than was made possible by the positivism and naturalism of the preceding epoch. His conception of the world is set forth in a book entitled *La existencia como economía, como desinterés y como caridad*.[6] The "economy" to which Caso

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[4]See my *Historia de la Filosofía en México* (Mexico, 1943), and the two volumes of *El Positivismo en México* by Leopoldo Zea (Mexico, 1943 and 1944).

[5]Concerning the "Ateneo de la Juventud" see my book *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México* (1938).

[6]Reprinted recently by the Secretariat of Education in Mexico. It is Caso's most important work because therein he sets forth his eclectic doctrine.

refers is not social economy, but the science which he considers, in the pragmatic sense, as a body of knowledge that simplifies truth and that schematizes it in a practical sense so that it may serve the needs of life rather than of purely logical and speculative reasoning. Intelligence, said Bergson, offers an admirable solution for the problems of life; its purpose is to serve not speculation but action.[7] The truths of science cannot teach us what reality itself is. The primary function of science is to make nature serve human needs. Philosophy has to avail itself of other means to arrive at a metaphysical knowledge of reality—a special faculty which in philosophic tradition has been designated as *intuition.* But if, in the scientific field, intelligence ministers to vital needs, man himself is capable, in other fields, of acting disinterestedly, as when inspired with a desire to accomplish some moral good, or to pursue some ideal of beauty. Man, therefore, is not only a being governed by the laws of nature but a person endowed with a free and disinterested spirit. In an eclectic fashion Caso reconciled the most advanced philosophic doctrine of that moment with the Christian tradition and the eternal values of classical humanism. These features gave his ideas prominence and ready acceptance in an atmosphere which demanded a philosophic creed justifying these higher values of the world and human life.[8]

In Caso's work as a university professor, the propagation of his doctrine was the least of his accomplishments. The most important was the awakening of interest in reflection and thought, through the presentation to his pupils of the wide horizon of the history of philosophy. Since 1911 various generations have listened to his lectures, learning not only a series of doctrines, but—what is more important for spiritual development—exercising themselves in the severe discipline of hard thinking, which is inherent in all philosophic method. Without Caso, the philosophic renaissance now observable in Mexico—the fruit of more than 25 years' work of the men formed in the school of that master—would be inexplicable. But the interests which direct this thought are now different from those which gave rise to the philosophic movement. It may be said that nothing that philosophy has produced in Europe up to the outbreak of the present war is unknown in Mexico. The most outstanding doctrines of late years, such as the phenomenology of Hüsserl and the existencialism of Heidegger, have been carefully studied and discussed. Our thought has now reached a stage at which it can venture to search for new solutions that will accord with our position in this world, that is to say as inhabitants of the New Continent. It seems to me that the great crisis of the present war poses a lesson as valuable for our culture as for our political and social life.

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[7]See my article concerning Bergson's concept of philosophy, published in the *Homenaje a Bergson, Centro de Estudios Filosóficos,* Mexico, 1940.

[8]Concerning Caso, see my *Historia de la Filosofía en México,* and also the volume *Antonio Caso* of the collection entitled *Pensamiento en América.* It is an anthology of Caso's works, with a preliminary study of Eduardo García Maynez.

This war has made us realize the necessity of relying upon our own resources. This statement holds also for our intellectual culture, and consequently means that we should endeavor to create our own ideas, our own philosophy. Of this opinion also, is another philosopher of the *Ateneo de la Juventud*, José Vasconcelos, who thinks that each race ought to evolve its own philosophy. "Let us begin then by creating our own life, our own science. If we do not first free the spirit, we shall never be able to redeem matter." Vasconcelos proclaims the ethnic and cultural unity of Hispanic America, which demonstrates to the world its own personality. America is something new. "It is an actual fact, if we face the truth, that the European scarcely recognizes himself in us, and we do not recognize ourselves in him. Neither would it be just to speak of a return to the indigenous, because we do not see ourselves in the Indian, nor does he see himself in us. Consequently, Hispanic America is something entirely new, not only in regard to territory but to soul. What difference does it make that Spencerian materialism condemns us, if today we can regard ourselves as a species of humanity, held in reserve as the promise of a future that will excell all the past. It is imperative for the fulfillment of our mission that we strengthen our will and unite our forces." Vasconcelos also advances the idea of a future "cosmic race" resulting from a fusion of bloods—a "synthetic race" endowed with the gifts of earlier races and the blood of all peoples—which will arise in Hispanic America.[9]

In 1921 Vasconcelos was named Minister of Public Education, and thus to a philosopher was assigned the task of educating a people. With a sense for social justice, he drew up a plan of education which proposed the establishment of a school in every hamlet of the country so that all might have an equal educational opportunity.[10] Also embodied in this plan was the idea of encouraging and promoting the development of a national culture. In fact, during those years, a phenomenon that might be called the re-discovery of Mexico took place. Every critical epoch has the virtue of forcing man to mediate on the problems that affect, not only him personally, but also his people, and the human race in general. At that time Mexico was passing through the crisis of her own revolution and was also affected by that occasioned by World War I. Under such circumstances it is not strange that a national consciousness should arise among the cultured class and that many of its members should bravely set forth Mexico's problems in all their bareness. Hope for a culture of distinctive personality gained ground with the appearance of works of Mexican literati and artists who revealed some of the aspects peculiar to our life.

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[9]S. Ramos, *Historia de la Filosofía en México*. See also J. Sánchez Villasenor's *La Filosofía de Vasconcelos*, Mexico, 1938; the volume on Vasconcelos in the collection *Pensamiento en América*, with a selection from the study of his work by Genaro Fernández MacGregor; and the *Antología* of Vasconcelos, with a preliminary study by Antonio Castro Leal.

[10]See S. Ramos, *Veinte Años de Educación en México*, 1941.

Such details characterized the work, for example, of Ramón López Velarde and Manuel José Othón in poetry, of Mariano Azuela in fiction, and of Diego Rivera and Clemente Orozco in painting. It was natural that thinkers should turn to, and occupy themselves principally with, Mexican problems.

In the field of philosophy, the stimulant of the environment did not remove the need of acquaintance with, and conscientious study of, the philosophic ideas of that moment. A fact must be noted here on account of its importance in philosophic orientation, not only in Mexico but in all Spanish America. This was the appearance of the philosophy of the Spansh thinker José Ortega y Gasset, who after 1921 began to acquire great renown on our continent, first, through the publication of his books; second, through the publication of the *Revista de Occidente*, which he edited; and third, through the translation into Spanish of the most important philosophical works, particularly German, representative of, according to Ortega, the "thought of the twentieth century." The collection of books selected by Ortega and published by the *Revista de Occidente* sought to diffuse throughout all Spanish-speaking countries current ideas then considered the last word in philosophic thought. The magnificent style that characterized Ortega's own works enthralled his readers. In fact, in judging Ortega, it is impossible to separate the external form from his doctrinal content, for the novelty of his ideas, his real value as a philosopher, plays a considerable part in his style. Ortega was not a writer who presented ideas as a literary theme, but a true philosopher who expressed his thoughts in language that is brilliant, clear, dignified, and elegant. It was a style of philosophic expression that had no precedent in Spanish prose.[11]

Among Ortega's books that were most enthusiastically received in Mexico was the *Tema de Nuestro Tiempo*. The reason was obvious. In that book Ortega seeks to explain the fundamental problems of contemporary life, thus giving an example of how philosophy can be related to the world of realities with which man is most directly concerned. What for a long time we have desired and demanded is that philosophy, without losing its own identity, maintain a close contact with life and be capable of explaining the problems that it sets forth. In the *Tema de Nuestro Tiempo* Ortega maintains that human reason is never a solitary and isolated function, but, on the contrary, that it always works in close collaboration with life, by undertaking to explain it and to make it aware of itself. Therefore, according to Ortega, the functioning agent of philosophy can

[11]The bibliography of José Ortega y Gasset is lengthy. Among the works which have had greater influence in America, apart from those cited, are *La Deshumanización del Arte, El Espectador* in 8 volumes, and *La Rebelión de las Masas*. José Sánchez Villaseñor has published a study on Ortega y Gasset, the first in the Spanish language. The exposition of the doctrines of the Spanish philosopher is good, although the criticisms suffer from the limitation of a scholastic point of view, the viewpoint of the critic.

be designated as "vital Reason," particularly when it undertakes problems in regard to man and his history. Philosophy, then, if it is the result of that "vital Reason," is perforce bound closely to the actual conditions—historic, social, and national—in which it has arisen, and of which it always presents a definite point of view from a particular perspective. "Every life represents a point of view in regard to the universe. In reality, what it sees, another cannot see. Each individual—person, people, or epoch—is an indispensable organ for the conquest of truth." These ideas, then represent the most encouraging assertion of the possibility of elaborating an American philosophy on our continent.

Of considerable influence, too, have been the translated works that were published in the *Revista de Occidente*, such as the *Logical Investigations* of Hüsserl, the works of Max Scheler, among which is his *Ethics* that was published a few years ago, and along with Scheler, the *Psychology* and the theory of moral knowledge of Brentano. *The Decline of the West* of Oswald Spengler, with its prophecies of the imminent death of western culture favored the concentration of Mexican thought on its immediate problems. The *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* of Rickert served to clarify the exact nature of historical knowledge, as did other works too numerous to mention in the brief space of this conference. What new general direction did these books indicate to Mexican scholars? In the first place, it is necessary to call attention to the vigorous current of the philosophy of values, formerly ignored in Mexico, as well as its derivatives, the philosophy of culture and of history. It is almost a sociological law that the branches of philosophy that acquire greatest prominence in a country have a reciprocal relation to the particular branches of knowledge that have been most developed there. For example, in the United States, where physics and mathematics are studied extensively, the philosophy of natural sciences prevails. In a like manner, in Mexico, where history and certain sciences dealing with the mind have been widely studied, the philosophy of culture tends to predominate. The development, on the one hand, of art, of poetry, and of the moral problems created by our own internal dissentions have promoted the study of ethics and aesthetics. On the other hand, the phenomenology of Hüsserl has intensified the traditional interest in Mexico for logic and the theory of knowledge. The study of the philosophy of Aristotle during the colonial period, when scholasticism held sway, the analytical discussions provoked by positivism in the nineteenth century and particularly the logic of Stuart Mill, have developed in Mexico a predilection for the study of logic, and explain the interest which greeted these new directions in philosophy we have just mentioned. It would be inopportune at this time to describe minutely the variety of philosophic questions that have been studied and discussed in Mexico. Let it suffice to say that there exist in our Faculty of Philosophy numerous professorships of the various branches of philosophy that are held by distinguished professors who teach the most

recent theories in the realm of contemporary thought. The majority of these professors are known throughout the continent for their publications. Among them are Eduardo García Maynez, Francisco Larroyo, José Gaos, Leopoldo Zea, Juan David Bacca, Juan Roura Parella, Eduardo Nicol, Oswaldo Robles, and Joaquín Xirau. Each is distinctively original, not only in choice of philosophic themes but also in manner of treatment of them. García Maynez devotes himself by preference to ethics and the philosophy of law. He has been one of the principal interpreters of the philosophy of values as it is set forth in the works of Max Scheler and Nicolai Hartman.[12] Francisco Larroyo belongs to the neo-Kantian school and is the founder of the review *La Gaceta de los neo-Kantianos de Mexico.* He has devoted himself to the study and teaching of logic, generally understood as a theory of science. He has taught ethics and the history of philosophy—having recently translated Windelband's well known *History of Philosophy*—but at present he is professor of the philosophy of education in our Faculty.[13] The exemplary professor, José Gaos gathers about him a group of students whom he not only teaches but personally directs in their philosophical studies. A great advocate of professional guidance, he directs the spiritual development of the students as he guides them through the most diverse fields of philosophy. He teaches the history of philosophy and metaphysics, and at the present he is directing a seminar on Mexican thought in the eighteenth century. He is a disciple of Ortega y Gasset and an indefatigable translator of the most important works on contemporary German thought. Recently he has completed the translation of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit,* one of the most difficult texts in recent philosophic literature. For seven years, he has taught in the University of Mexico, where he has had the opportunity to develop his own thought. Without doubt, he is one of the professors best acquainted with the world movement in philosophy.[14] Juan David García Bacca is known throughout the continent for his books: *La Invitación al Filosofar, Introducción al Filosofar, Filosofía de las Ciencias, Tipos Históricos del Filosofar Físico, Parménides,* and the volumes entitled *Presocráticos,* which have been published in recent years. García Bacca is one of the most serious of the philosophers writing today in the Castilian language. Although well

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[12]The most important books of Eduardo García Maynez are: *Introducción al Estudio de Derecho* (2 volumes); *Etica (de Bienes, Empírica, Formal y Valorativa); El Problema filosófico-jurídico de la validez del Derecho; El Derecho Natural en los Filósofos Presocráticos; La Libertad como Derecho y como Poder;* and the "Prologue" to the volume on Caso published by the Secretariat of Education.

[13]The most outstanding works of Francisco Larroyo are: *Los Principios de la Etica Social; La Lógica de la Ciencia; Fundamentos filosóficos de la Escuela Unificada; Bibliografía general del Socialismo; La Filosofía de los Valores; Historia de la Pedagogía* (2 volumes); and the translation of the *Historia de la Filosofía* of Windelband.

[14]Mention should be made here of the following works by José Gaos: *Antología Filosófica; La Filosofía de Maimónides; Dos ideas de la Filosofía; El último Nietzsche; Sobre el Auditorium de la Filosofía; Caracterización del Pensamiento Hispanoamericano; Estética y Arte.*

grounded in Greek thought, he is abreast of the times and is thoroughly at home in modern philosophy. He is probably the only philosopher in Mexico, and perhaps in all Spanish America, that knows the natural sciences and mathematics sufficiently to devote himself successfully to the study of the philosophy of science. At present he is teaching metaphysics and is translating the entire work of Plato into Spanish. Juan Roura Parella is one of our distinguished professors of psychology. He has published a book, *Ciencia y Educación,* and a work devoted entirely to the study of Eduardo Spranger, under whom he studied in Germany. Joaquín Xirau of the University of Barcelona, author of various works such as *Amor y Mundo, Lo Eterno y lo Fugaz, La Filosofía de Hüsserl,* conducts a seminar dealing with classic thought and known as "El Mundo del Hombre de Occidente," and also teaches a course on French philosophy. Eduardo Nicol devotes himself to psychological studies and has published an important book entitled *Psicología de las situaciones vitales.* Besides, there is in the University a philosophic current that is attempting to return to the colonial tradition through a study of the neo-Thomistic doctrine. It is not possible at this time to examine in detail the philosophic positions of all these professors. Among them there is much in common, in spite of the personal position of each and his manner of attacking philosophical questions. All are open-minded and invite collaboration, with the exception of the neo-Thomists, characterized, as always, by a tendency toward sectarianism.[15]

But the former group of philosophers do not profess an infallible doctrine, much less are they dogmatic. Dogmatism, however, does mark the extreme directions of thought, represented on the one hand by neo-scholasticism and on the other by the doctrines of Marx. The focus of philosophic activities centers in the University, particularly in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Outside of academic circles the only doctrine that has developed is the Marxian, which originated with the labor movement that grew out of the Revolution, and which has had in Mexico a political rather than a philosophic significance. With the exception of a few labor leaders who have studied the Marxian theories at the fountain source, the greater part of them lack the philosophic preparation indispensable for an understanding of the work of Marx and his followers.[16] Only lately, in some schools for workmen, has serious consideration of

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[15]Oswaldo Robles, the chief of the Neo-Thomists, has published *Antropología filosófica* and *Propedéutica filosófica,* a manual for the use of students of philosophy and a translation of a portion of the *physica Speculatio* of Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz.

[16]Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leader of the labor movement in Mexico and founder of the *Universidad Obrera,* pursued his philosophic studies under Antonio Caso. He has been director and professor of philosophy in the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* and the author, among other works, of *El Sentido Humanista de la Revolución Mexicana; Escritos Filosóficos;* and *Ética.* Recently the *Universidad Obrera* published a large volume of his most important speeches, among which are some concerned with philosophic questions.

socialistic doctrines and of the materialistic conception of history been attempted. In the University Marx is studied only in relation to his place in the history of philosophy, and his theories, on being considered, are subjected to the usual critical point of view employed in the examination of the doctrines of the past.

The history of philosophy in Mexico reveals a process of apprenticeship to, and assimilation of, European thought. During the colonial period, in which instruction was entirely under the control of the Church, the only philosophy that was known and studied in our universities was the scholasticism which was Aristotelian and Thomistic in tendency. However, in the second half of the eighteenth century, intellectual life was inevitably invigorated by modern ideas which, in their world wide sweep, crossed the frontiers of Spain and her colonies. Even before the struggle for independence, there had been introduced into Mexico the rationalism of Descartes,[17] which prepared those dissatisfied with Spanish rule to understand the political philosophy of the French Enlightenment. During the nineteenth century the influence of French philosophy was felt especially after the importation of positivism during the epoch of Juárez. Also at that time the doctrines of the English philosophers gained ground, and during the era of positivism Spencer and Stuart Mill shared honors with Auguste Comte. In the present century the horizon has widened to such an extent that now the range of studies includes the philosophy of the world, the French as well as the German or the Anglo-Saxon. To be sure, all the philosophy that has been studied in Mexico has been imported from the Old Continent. But in what country of Europe was philosophy not an importation? The only country that created philosophy without importing from without her borders was Greece.[18]

Among some of the Mexican thinkers, in the main young men, the idea exists today that in order to create philosophy we ought to imitate what the Europeans did from the time of the Middle Ages, that is return to classic Greek thought. As Greek philosophy is the only one of a first-hand nature, a direct study of it would permit us to follow the same process through which the European countries since the time of Greece have passed before evolving their own philosophy. But this point of view would be one-sided if it did not include, as a part of its method, the will to consider directly the reality that surrounds us and to interpret our own experiences in life so that the philosophy that thus arises may make us more aware of our own being and our world. The test of an American philosophy is the extent to which it helps one to comprehend fundamentally an American being, his life and his culture. American philosophy must represent a

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[17]Representative of Cartesian philosophy was Benito Díaz de Gamarra, author of *Elementos de Filosofía Moderna*, of which Antonio Caso has prepared a study. See also my already cited *Historia de la Filosofía en México*.

[18]In this respect see an article, "La Filosofía en México," by García Bacca in *Hijo Pródigo*.

vision of the world from the perspective of existence on this continent, and it will have the same justification as all the philosophic conceptions from the European point of view. Everything depends, of course, on our preparing ourselves for this task and being capable of realizing it with the competence of the Europeans. American philosophy in this sense is not only a desirable but an urgent task, especially at this time when we are passing through a period of strife.

The great problem of Mexico in the present century has been to define and unify in all walks of life her national personality. Established through conquest as a Spanish colony, she continued, in the past century, after her liberation, as a colonial country in regard to her institutions and culture, both of which were foreign. We have to confess that awareness of this situation has developed in us Mexicans a feeling of inferiority.[19] It was thought that Mexicans were incapable of original creative work and unable to arrange their lives except in accordance with institutions, forms of life, and culture that were foreign. One of the greatest steps taken to overcome this mental conflict has been the direction of attention to our native land, with the will to face national realities in order to know them. The national and international crises through which we have lived during the present century have forced us to try to understand ourselves and have concentrated our national consciousness upon an examination of the truth in regard to our particular mode of being. In this work the sciences have collaborated; history, for example, has been applied to each one of our activities—our economy, our social and political life, and our artistic, literary, and philosophic culture. History in truth has been a precious instrument in arriving at a knowledge of ourselves and in the revelation of unsuspected values in our tradition, which have served to restore faith in our future and to stimulate our efforts to attain it. Other sciences, such as economy, sociology, and psychology, which have at present as their chief concern the investigation of problems dealing with our immediate reality, have made further contributions to the same end. Nor can one overlook the accomplishments in this direction of art, literature, and painting, whose themes are taken directly from Mexican life.

In orientating and justifying this wide tendency to return to the native soil, philosophy has had its part. It reveals to us that culture is not an inanimate world of beings and abstract forms but a living organism which cannot exist unless it sinks its roots deeply in the soil. Just as no plant can exist that has its roots everywhere, culture grows and develops only when nourished by a sap that a particular soil produces. Also, knowledge is possible only from a definite point of view, for always he who acquires knowledge is a concrete man of flesh and blood who inhabits a certain place on this planet and who is affected by the medium that surrounds him. A

[19]Concerning this see my book *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México* (1938).

knowledge that lacks the perspective of a definite point of view is beyond human attainment.[20]

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[20]The following works are evidence of this trend: *Fundamentos Filosóficos de la Historia de América* (O'Gorman); *El Positivismo en México* (Zea); *Auge y Decadencia del Positivismo en México* (Zea); *Hidalgo, Reformador Intelectual* (G. Méndez Plancarte); *El Sistema Filosófico de Vasconcelos* (Villaseñor); *Fundamentos Filosóficos de la Escuela Unificada* (Larroyo); *Apuntaciones históricas sobre la Filosofía en México* (Valverde); *Bibliografía Filosófica Mexicana* (Valverde 2 Vols.); *El Hombre Colón* (R. Iglesia); *Don Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra y Dávalos* (Alfonso Méndez Plancarte); *México* (A. Caso); the collection of *El Estudiante Universitario* (50 Vols.); *Letras Mexicanas* (J. Jiménez Rueda); *Eclecticismo en México* (Junco) and *Visión de Anáhuac* (A. Reyes).

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES OF SPANISH REFUGEES IN LATIN AMERICA

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Something has happened and is happening within the countries south of the Río Grande without precedent in the history of those peoples. But perhaps the same phenomenon would have been impossible twenty years ago! Why? Between 1925 and 1935 the countries of Ibero-America suffered an internal shock which affected political, economic, and social life as well as intellectual trends. The turmoil of that decade elevated the common man, increased class-consciousness, deepened the feeling of national differences, and finally brought into the open, on delicate biological grounds, what the sociologists have called, very rightly, consciousness of unlikeness.

The intellectual life of Hispano-America, which at the beginning of the twentieth century was pervaded fundamentally by the spirit of positivism, realism, and materialism, changed its tone after the first world war, and the voices of Bergson and Unamuno, Max Scheler and Ortega y Gasset, succeeded in stimulating the unrest and anxieties of the new generations and in piloting them into a harbor of newly conceived ideals. The appearance of Spengler's book in a beautiful Spanish translation almost immediately after its printing in Germany contributed also in another way to disturb the awakening spirits. It brought forth a tempest of doubts concerning Europe's future and a dawn of hopes, not unclouded by some misgivings, with regard to America's possibilities.

A group of thinkers, philosophers, poets, essayists, anthropologists, economists, historians, and sociologists here and there, in Bolivia or Cuba as well as in Eucador, in Peru and likewise in Colombia, not to mention Venezuela, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, or the prominent Argentina and Mexico, aroused the tense spirit of the new generations. When that happened the spirit of a rejuvenated Spain, born as a result of the greatest crisis endured by that country since the sixteenth century, had appeared in Hispano-America and had established intimate relations with the young students and masters in the universities. The psychological crisis of Spain during the events of the decade 1898–1907 offers the key for interpreting what has happened in my country up to the present time, and for understanding the moving fraternal collaboration among Spaniards and Hispano-Americans in these momentous days.

When Spain, as a result of the war with the United States, saw that the catastrophic period of her history, notorious since the seventeenth century, had been consummated with her expulsion from the Caribbean, her intellectual ruling elements opened a period of merciless historical analysis aimed at discovering the causes of her national illness. This

criticism was accompanied by constructive programs of national education, scientific research, and immediate contact with the highest European centers of culture. It was given voice by the outstanding personalities of the country, such men as Don Francisco Giner, Don Santiago Ramón y Cajal, and Don Joaquín Costa. This attitude received warm support, first among intellectuals, universities, and columnists of the best newspapers, and immediately afterward among the politicians. Carried along by this current, Spanish youth have crossed the Pyrenees in increasing numbers since the beginning of this century to take their places in the laboratories, technical schools, and seminars of the best intellectual centers of Europe. In 1907 this movement was organized by the State through the foundation of the *"Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas"* (Committee to Promote the Growth of Study and Scientific Research). Outstanding persons from many fields constituted this autonomous committee: physicians, painters, engineers, poets, professors. From the many applicants they selected those best prepared to gain the most from the fellowships offered. Upon their return from the foreign centers these students, who were required to present memoranda on their work abroad, became the foundation of the Spanish universities of 1907–1938.

Then some of the most representative sons of the Spain generated by the crisis of 1898 began to be invited to Hispano-America by cultural associations and universities. It was about 1906 or 1907 that the world-famous historian Don Rafael Altamira, at the request of Argentina, made a tour of the universities of Hispano-America—a tour which left a deep imprint. Later, under the auspices of an association of Spanish immigrants, the *"Institución Cultural Española,"* founded in Buenos Aires, writers and all sorts of prominent intellectuals representing the many elements of the post-1898 era came to Hispano-America as guests of the universities. If 1916 represents, as Alejandro Korn, the great Argentinian master, says, *"un acontecimiento en nuestra cultura filosófica"* (an event in our philosophical culture) because of the appearance at that time of Ortega y Gasset (*Obras,* Tomo III, page 266), the following years were to prove to the skeptic that a new approach to cultural problems and a strong faith in her destiny were unfolding in Spain.

In 1926, in Mexico as well as in Cuba, cultural associations were founded by nationals and Spaniards with the specific purpose of increasing the intellectual relations between Spain and Mexico, and Spain and Cuba. The tempo of this movement gained momentum, reaching a climax in 1930. Thus, when in 1931, the Spanish Republic was founded as the result of a democratic election, Hispano-America was stirred; she had the feeling that something directly connected with the goal of liberty through social justice—a goal close to the heart of the Hispano-American masses—had been initiated for a family of countries with the birth of the Spanish Republic. It was this hope which drew the intellectuals and the masses into the streets to offer spontaneous homage of love to

Republican Spain, the kind of homage which Monarchist Spain, symbol of all against which they had struggled, had never received. Consequently, when the Civil War began in 1936, public opinion in Hispano-America was passionately divided, centering about the opposite poles exactly as it had in Spain. The Spanish Civil War was a latent civil war in each of the countries of Hispano-America because of many sociological reasons which cannot be explored here lest the temptation to analyze this relationship carry us away from our theme. Each incident of the war was followed with keen interest—not only in the minds, but also in the hearts of the people, who sent many of their finest sons into our battle. This close emotional tie generated the fraternal attitude with which Spanish refugees were received in Hispano-America at the sunset of the Republic.

I

SCIENCES

This Diaspora of the liberal Spanish intellectuals is of a magnitude incomparable with any other of our past or with that of any European country today: the mass of professors, writers, artists, archivists, scientists, and labor leaders forced to leave the country at times reached fifty per cent of the total number there existing. To state it more specifically, the number of full professors of universities in exile is over 40 per cent of the total existing in Spain in 1936, and it has been impossible to fix the percentage of college and public-school teachers who left. Some facts, like the disappearance of the scientists of the *Instituto Cajal,* a center of neurological research, or those working at the Physical and Chemical Institute dedicated to research in those fields, can suggest the extent of the catastrophe. Let me add another example: none of the greatest poets has remained in Spain—all of them are in America.

Exclusive of a small group of intellectuals who found it impossible to come to America and are living either in France or in England, the immense majority are in Hispano-America, but distributed very unequally. Mexico has absorbed perhaps as many as all the other countries together: Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, Panama, Cuba, Bolivia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic. Chile, numerically second only to Mexico, preferred to receive engineers, managers, and skilled workers. Something similar occurred in Uruguay and in a few countries of Central America where at that time the dictators were entrenched; and to Peru, admirable Peru so well fitted for any ideological adventure but victim of what Machiavelli called "malignity of fortune," not a single professor was admitted. The label of "red" excluded them.

What are the Spanish intellectuals in Hispano-America doing? For those interested in the historical progression of these sociological facts, I recommend the *Boletín informativo* published by the Association of Spanish University Professors Abroad, and printed in Mexico (Eufrates

8-A [Colonia Cuauhtemoc], Mexico, D.F.). There you will find a list of works published by university scholars during the period of exile, but it is incomplete because it does not include the writings of the non-university emigrants and of course does not mention the academic activities of the professors. In a very limited measure, the review *Ciencia,* also edited in Mexico since 1940, supplements the information in the *Boletín* with reports of the work of the Spanish scientists who do not belong to the university staffs.

In so far as I have been informed, your main interest is in learning about the contribution of the refugees in the field of the humanities. Therefore, I shall limit myself to a brief reference to several scientific fields.

(1) The greatest Spanish physicist, Don Blas Cabrera, whose contributions to the knowledge of the structure of the atom and the understanding of magnetic streams have had such great repercussions, continues to work in Mexico notwithstanding his precarious health. (Dr. Cabrera died while this article was being printed.) Cosmographers like Don Honorato de Castro have aided the United States Army in Puerto Rico in the triangulation of the island, taking the stars as points of reference. Professor Pedro Carrasco follows his studies of astronomy, and A. Duperier Vallesa—in London I believe—continues his contributions to the problems of cosmic rays and magnetic storms. Luís A. Santaló and Marcelo Santaló keep pure mathematical speculation alive.

(2) Following the tradition of Cajal (a Nobel prize winner), his pupil, Mr. Del Río Ortega, first invited by Oxford, later by Buenos Aires, is now in the Argentine capital working in a laboratory provided for him. There he continues his magnificent discoveries concerning the nervous system. (Mr. Del Río Ortega died some months ago.)

(3) The chemists are carrying on in two ways: as pure scientists in the laboratories or, in many cases, as industrial chemists. Most of them are in Mexico, where, under their guidance, a new generation of chemists is being trained. Mr. Giral, Mr. Moles, and Mr. Antonio Madinaveitia are the leading figures, and an enthusiastic group (Francisco Giral, Cravioto, Osorio, Juan Madinaveitia, and Roquero) are analyzing the soil and water of the lakes of Mexico, developing methods of purification of some acids, and enlarging the scientific as well as the industrial horizon of the youths with whom they are working.

(4) The biologists too continue pure scientific research and aid industry in the preparation of serums and drugs. In addition to the group in Mexico, Dr. Pi y Suñer is in Caracas, where, thanks to the understanding of the government, he has obtained the necessary facilities for continuing his magnificent work transplanted from Barcelona, and in the Institute of Physiology is training a group of specialists in a field that is needed in Venezuela. He is also analyzing the dietetic habits of the country and working out methods to improve public nutrition. His

brother is doing similar work as head of another Institute of Physiology founded in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

(5) The efforts of the naturalists are really extraordinary. In the fields of entomology, botany, oceanography, zoölogy, and paleontology, research and its resultant contributions have been unbelievable: in Colombia, Professor José Cuatrecasas, assisted by the outstanding scientific artist, Miss Ines Zulueta, is continuing a great tradition, and in Mexico a strong group of professors is working. Until the end of 1944, this group was presided over by the marvelous personality of Don Ignacio Bolívar, patriarch of the Spanish naturalists, who worked untiringly. This moving example of the Spanish *caballero* died in exile in Mexico at the end of last year at the age of 94. He was a world-famous entomologist, professor of Madrid University, and director and renovator of the National Museum of Natural Sciences; after the death of Mr. Ramón y Cajal he became chairman of the "*Junta para Ampliación de Estudios.*" His pupils are spread throughout Spain and America, and now the torch of the master is in the hands of his son, Professor Cándido Bolívar, and of Professors Fernando De Buen, Enrique Rioja, Bibiano F. Osorio, Royo Gómez, Dionisio Peláez, Federico Bonet, Faustino Miranda, Caudel Vila, Velo Cobelas and several others whose names, I regret to say, are unknown to me.

(6) Finally a word about the engineers, architects, and sanitation experts as a bridge between what traditionally, though erroneously, is called pure science and what is included in the term applied science. If we let our gaze travel from Argentina, Uruguay, or Chile, across Bolivia, with a glance at Venezuela, then Colombia, and then center our attention on Mexico, we find men in these professions contributing to the visible transformation and enrichment of science. Authorities in all branches of enginering—mines, forestry, industry, agriculture, hydraulics, electricity, or what one calls among us the field of "Roads, Canals and Harbors"—have arrived in all of these countries and they, as well as the architects and sanitation experts, are making their intellectual contribution—sometimes by their publications, often by educational activity, enlarging and enriching the vision of science in theory and practice. What I have said of these technicians can be said with even more emphasis of the physicians. In the hospitals they are seeking and finding new ways to lessen or eradicate human suffering. The number of Spanish clinics, many of them quite outstanding, is very large. From Cuba, where the world-famous hematologist Dr. Gustavo Pittaluga is living, to Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico, the number of medical scientists is unbelievable. But the magnanimity with which the government of Mexico has authorized them to practice their profession has no parallel.

II

HUMANITIES

Deprived of liberty of thought, liberty of expression, and liberty of the press, and with institutionalized state censorship established to insure the life and continuation of the official truth, the Spanish non-conformists look to America for a homeland. Philosophy was left an orphan in our beloved country because the young masters in whom the hope of the new generation lay came to Hispano-America. The single exception who remained in Spain has become silent.

The philosophers who have arrived in America, have, with very important nuances, a deep unity of direction. They are the fruit of the reaction against the rationalism—so strong in Europe after the first world war—so vivid always among us because of the Catholic tradition as well as because of the enormous influence exerted by the romantic school of Krause upon the masters of my generation. The continuing force of the Spanish spirit exemplified in our history is now very apparent in our philosophers. Perhaps it would be correct to say that in them can be discovered the influence of the pathos of Unamuno and also the Apollonean tendency of Ortega y Gasset. Phenomenology, the philosophy of value, the existential trend, and the psychology of forms have opened ways to them and suggested new angles of vision. But the shock of reality, the immense tragedy through which they have lived, the acid experience of persecution, misery, and exile, are essential psychological ingredients that have contributed more than anything else to the deepening of their judgment about values and life.

The mathematical logic to which Mr. David García Bacca dedicated some of his first books is no more the center of the author's attention. Like José Gaos, Joaquín Xirau, Eugenio Imaz, María Zambrano, Roura Parella, and Eduardo Nicol, he is teaching and publishing books and articles about the history of philosophy, specific thinkers, and concrete themes. In addition these men are making many translations of the classics and moderns. Mr. García Bacca has published translations of the pre-Socratics, the Democratic fragments and the first Ennead of Plotinus, as well as the first volume of a proposed complete edition of Plato, with Greek text and translation; while Mr. Gaos has analyzed the philosophical thought of Galileo and Mr. Xirau that of Louis Vives. But it is impossible in the limited time at our disposal to present a complete inventory or even to suggest with any exactitude what this group has achieved and what has been accomplished in the philosophical field by many others. Translations of the most complex philosophies have been presented to the Spanish-speaking countries. As an illustration, no more than that, I would like to stress the significance of the publication of eight volumes of Wilhelm Dilthey, each one preceded by an introduction or followed by an epilogue magnificently written by the young trans-

lator, Mr. Eugenio Imaz. Of course the works of Max Scheler, Heidegger, and many other prominent contemporary authors are now in the hands of philosophy students in Hispano-America. But philosophical thought has also been enriched by studies of great originality. Translation of the classics has not prevented Mr. García Bacca from writing and publishing in Tucumán (Argentina) or in Mexico such keenly penetrating books as his *Introducción al Filosofar* and his *Filosofía de las Ciencias*, which presents a profound explanation of the philosophical basis of the theory of relativity since the Michelson experiment, including Einstein's thesis and more recent developments—a work so scholarly that it could have been written only by a man with Mr. Bacca's classical background in mathematics, physics, and philosophy. He shares with Mr. Zubiri—now silent in Spain—the position of leadership among philosophers of scientific theory.

To Mr. Gaos is due the credit for translating the epoch-making work of Hüsserl *(Investigaciones Lógicas)* with which phenomenology opened new avenues of philosophical thought, as well as the most important of Max Scheler's works (for instance, *Esencia y Formas de la Simpatía*, Buenos Aires, 1942). He has also published numerous essays in the reviews about the most vital themes of philosophy, beginning with *"Filosofía de la Filosofía,"* followed by the deeper study *"Filosofía de Maimónides"* and *"Antología Filosófica, I: La filosofía griega,"* then *"Caracterización del pensamiento hispano-americano,"* and later by *"Significación filosófica del pensamiento hispano-americano"* (*Cuadernos Americanos*, 1942, No. 6; 1934, No. 2). Mr. Gaos is a most exceptional teacher, possessing great personal magnetism of the type which even more than wisdom itself often determines pedagogical effectiveness.

Mr. Xirau is the author of one of the most skillfully written books on phenomenology: *La Filosofía de Husserl: Una Introducción a la Fenomenología* (Buenos Aires, 1941). This splendid book has made the author's name familiar to the seminars of Yale and Harvard universities. Later he analyzed the thought of Heidegger, and now he is writing about the enigmatic figure of Raymond Lully and calling attention to the real meaning of Spanish Krausism. Mr. Roura has dedicated his efforts to the philosophy of education and Mr. Nicols to its psychology. Among the many studies of the former is his beautiful *Educación y Ciencia* (Mexico, 1940), and to the latter we owe *Psicología de las situaciones vitales* (Mexico, 1941)—a book that, if it is not an expression of maturity, is at least the clear announcement of a philosophical temperament.

Mr. Eugenio Imaz, the young man who has accomplished what has not been performed in any other language—the translation and masterful analysis of the complete works of Dilthey—is a man like the great architects of the middle ages, ready to give his life to the building of a temple without thought of himself or his name. In Spain *"Cruz y Raya,"* in Mexico the *"Fondo de Cultura Económica"* have absorbed the sub-

stance of his exquisite and chivalrous spirit. His prologues and notes here and there leave the imprint of his vigorous and penetrating thought. Miss María Zambrano has a unique position among our philosophers. She is, among the ladies, the only one of the students of philosophy whose thought has really crystallized. In Puerto Rico and in Havana University, where she has been teaching, she has aroused much admiration for the subtlety of her thought, her philosophical knowledge, and her sensibility. Miss Zambrano has published several fine books, but thus far the most impressive seems to me to be *La Confesión como género literario,* in which she has expressed her doubts and aspirations so well as to make it a moving document of definite philosophical value.

The large majority of thinkers are exercising a great educational influence through the universities, colleges, and reviews, making their explanations in the classroom or on the printed page, playing the great social rôle that the philosopher has always played among us.

Two names of very singular value have not been included among those mentioned: that of Don Pedro Urbano González de la Calle and that of Don Juan Larrea. The former, a classicist, a professor of Sanskrit, an exceptional Latin scholar, puts his immense devotion to culture and education into serving his pupils in the University of Bogotá. He is not merely a professor of classical languages, but a man who by temperament and education is able to immerse his pupils in the spirit of the cultures which developed and used the ancient languages. He has written books and articles devoted to biographies of great thinkers, chiefly of sixteenth-century Spain, but recently of Louis Vives; meanwhile he works in the tradition of Cuervo in the linguistic field.

The second thinker, Don Juan Larrea, seems to me to be one of the most brilliant among the Spaniards in exile. He uses the analogical method as the basis for deciphering the intentions, either rational or transcendent, which he attributes to history—these intentions giving rise to what Mr. Larrea considers symbols immanent in historical coincidences. This method could be employed only by a person with an exceptionally fertile imagination and a fine historical background. The result of this poetic method is at times disturbing, at times illuminating, always very dangerous, and often really electrifying. His *Rendición de Espíritu* (2 vols., Mexico, 1943), and his recent booklet, *El Surrealismo entre Viejo y Nuevo Mundo,* produce in some readers, as does modern art, a sense of having been personally insulted, but I judge his work to be one of the outstanding products of our historical, philosophical, and religious unrest.

Educators, social and political philosophers, specialists in the philosophy of law, and teachers of jurisprudence came to America by hundreds. Except for Peru (where, as I remarked earlier, the exclusion has been almost absolute), and for some republics of Central America, Hispano-America has received these men and thus has profited by the work of virtually all the best scholars in these fields from Spain. In Cuba,

Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo in the Caribbean Zone, and from Mexico to Patagonia in the southern part of Argentina, they are hard at work. In Panama it is Professor Demófilo de Buen who has been called by the government and is preparing the new civil code and some supplementary legislation. In Bolivia, a closely similar mission, the project of a civil code, was assigned to the famous Spanish lawyer, Don Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, former ambassador of Spain in Argentina. Mr. Ossorio, at the request of the President of the Bolivian republic, has published a volume of 738 pages in Buenos Aires which is really notable. It contains a great deal of factual material and the parts dealing with the indigenous family and the regime of ownership are particularly suggestive. Also in Bolivia another Spanish professsor, the criminologist Mr. Manuel López Rey, has prepared the penal code as an official project. At the present time Spain's outstanding figure in this field, the former professor at the University of Madrid, Don Luis Jiménez de Asúa, who for years has taught in La Plata University, is teaching at Caracas. There an effort is being made to create a special center for the rehabilitation of homeless children following the doctrines and advice of Professor Jiménez de Asúa. His works about criminology, recently published, are in the hands of the students of many universities. In many other countries persons of great reputation in the Spanish forum are acting as technical advisors of the various governments.

Over three hundred books and booklets, most of them concerning juridical questions, have been published by professors in the fields previously mentioned. In education, Mr. Luis de Zulueta, until 1936 professor in Madrid University and now in that of Bogotá, is the leading figure. His book *La Nueva Edad Heroica*, a sequel to a very similar title he published over twenty years ago, has all the characteristics of his keen, noble, poetic, and attractive spirit. In the University of Tucumán Mr. Lorenzo Luzuriaga, editor of the *Revista de Pedagogía* and director and publisher of a house founded by him, continues his tremendous work, untiringly keeping his pupils and the public well informed as to the doctrines and methodology of education with such studies as *La Pedagogía Contemporánea*. Mr. Santullano, until recently in Puerto Rico, but now drawn to the irresistible Mexico City in the Anahuac Valley, and Mr. Fernando Sáinz, who is now in Santo Domingo, are two of the men who, as educators and authors, exerted great influence among the teachers of Spain. They continue their work without hesitation. It would be almost impossible, however, to suggest the extent of the intellectual action carried on by the educators, in view of the fact that they have founded so many schools and colleges.

In the field of political and social philosophy, including the philosophy of law, the effort has been very brilliant. Professor Manuel Pedroso is the director of the Section of Political Science of the *"Fondo de Cultura Económica,"* and in his seminar he has succeeded in awakening the most serious scientific interest in the problems of political philosophy. Dr.

Pedroso has published a fine essay in which he analyzes the political problems involved in "La Prevención de la Guerra." Professor Medina Echavarría, in addition to publishing books of such mature quality as *Sociología Contemporánea* (1940) and *Sociología: teoria y ténica* (Mexico, 1941) and contributing very decisively to the founding of the *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia,* is preparing, with the coöperation of other writers, a translation of Max Weber's principal work *(Economy and Society),* which, so far as I know, has not yet been translated into any other language. I consider Mr. Echevarría the most eminent of the Spanish sociologists. In Argentina Professor Francisco Ayala has published anthologies and monographs such as *Saavedra Fajardo (Colección "El Pensamiento Vivo")* and theoretical studies like *El problema del liberalismo,* written with the acuteness that characterizes this group of thinkers and with the elegance of style that is typical of Mr. Ayala's works. Professor Vicente Herrero Ayllon, in addition to his excellent translation and introduction to the collected political works of Edmund Burke, has contributed with a valuable study—*Las Doctrinas pluralistas de la Soberanía en Inglaterra* (Mexico, 1942). Among the younger professors of political science, Mr. Herrero is the best acquainted with the political institutions of England. And finally, Professor Recaséns Siches, so studious and enthusiastic, and so well known in the circles where the philosophy of law is nurtured, has published in Mexico (1939) his most important book *Vida Humana, Sociedad y Derecho,* following, in general, the philosophical direction of the great master José Ortega y Gasset, but with his eyes open to the new contributions of the German thinkers—although somewhat neglecting events and ideas in the rest of the world. Professor Recaséns has made a great contribution to the philosophy of law. In his later period he gives the impression of being increasingly interested in sociological themes, which I consider an excellent method of eliminating the vestiges of formalism yet existing in his philosophy and enriching its more vital elements. Among the economists the greatest successes are represented by Professor A. Sacristán in Mexico and Professor Julian Alienes in Cuba, both in banking activities.

I desire to conclude with some remarks about the historians, their auxiliaries the paleographers, and a brief mention of the Spanish publishing houses now in Hispano-America.

The stay of our eminent medievalist, Professor Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, in Argentina has awakened such an interest among the intellectual elements there that he has been called from Mendoza to Buenos Aires, where the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras has created and placed under the direction of Mr. Sánchez Albornoz an institute of Medieval and Modern History of the Spanish Culture *(Instituto de Historia de la Cultura Española Mediaeval y Moderna).* As the title indicates and the director explains in the first *"cuaderno"* issued by the Institute, the range of the research is fixed by the date of the colonization of America. Thus

the Institute will be exclusively concerned with Spanish life before the end of the fifteenth century. To the best of my knowledge that is something entirely new in Hispano-America. In the past twenty-five years institutes, seminars, or centers of research entrusted to Spanish professors of mathematics, philology, or biology, had been founded in several countries south of the Rio Grande—mainly in Argentina—but an institute dedicated as this one is to the historical roots of Spanish culture presupposes a psychological attitude on the part of the scholars and students that has existed only recently.

The personality to whom the high mission of the Institute has been entrusted is really exceptional, not merely when one considers Spain but also in looking at all of Europe. This former professor of Madrid University was the founder of the Institute of Medieval Studies *(Instituto de estudios mediaevales)* in Spain, of the *Yearbook of the History of Spanish Law (Anuario de Historia del Derecho)* and finally of the *Monumenta Hispaniae Historica.* Twenty years after the beginning of that work, he initiated anew a similar task in Buenos Aires as an exile, but with that sort of heroic emotion, of living and fighting spirit, which it seems to me characterizes the Spaniards.

In addition to the great work about the Middle Ages published two years ago, Professor Sánchez Albornoz has offered to the public *España y el Islam* (1943), *Ruina y extinción del municipio romano en España* (1943), his commentaries on the *Ajbar Maymu'a* (The Arabian Codex; 1944), and his new research into a subject which none has explored so deeply as he: the significance for Spanish social and political life of the battles of Guadalete and Covadonga (A.D. 711–722), which marked the entrance of the Mohammedans into Spain and their defeat in Asturias (*Cuadernos de Historia de España,* I and II, 1944, pp. 11–114, of the first issue of the *Instituto*—1944).

Professor Sánchez Albornoz has now around him a number of Argentine scholars whom he is preparing in the field of history, and already has begun to get the coöperation of an excellent group. What he is doing in that way is also being attempted by two others, both outstanding personalities—one of them in Bogotá, Professor J. M. Ots y Capdequi, and the other in Mexico, Professor Agustín Millares.

No one with even an elementary knowledge of what has been published in Spain about colonial institutions can fail to be aware of the work of Professor Ots. He was the Director of the center created in the University of Sevilla for research concerning the history of America, and also the Director of the *Instituto Hispano-Cubano* founded in Sevilla. His publications about the family and inheritance in the legislation of the Indies, about ownership, and about municipalities in America are the best which have appeared in Spain. Professor Ots is the author of a book published by the University of La Plata (Argentina, 1934): *Social Institutions of Hispano-America During the Colonial Period (Instituciones Sociales de la América española en el período colonial),* which has been

widely read throughout the Spanish-speaking countries. He has been one of the principal contributors to the Yearbook edited by Professor Sánchez Albornoz mentioned above. He has taught during the last few years not merely in Bogotá but in Cuba, Santo Domingo, anad Mexico, always leaving behind him the influence of his meticulous approach to problems. The Colegio de México published (in 1941) his remarkable *El Estado español en las Indias.*

Professor Agustín Millares was not well known in America; even in Spain his prestige was confined to his own field. He is the great master of Latin, Medieval Latin, and Spanish paleography. He is the author of the most authoritative books which we have in Spain on these subjects. But the stature of his greatness is such that his work in the *"Ateneo"* of Madrid, not to mention what he did in the universities of Granada and Madrid, is unforgettable. He has now published a *Grammar of the Latin Language* (1941); an *Anthology of Latin Prose* (1941); the editing, preliminary note, and annotations to the Spanish translation of the unpublished work in Latin of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, whose manuscript was discovered in Oaxaca, *Del Unico modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión* (Mexico, 1942); an analysis of *New Directions in the Field of Paleography* (1943); and a continuous contribution to the wealth of material in the National Library of Mexico. Recently (1944) he has brought out, in Latin and Spanish, the Prologues written for the *Biblioteca Mexicana* in the eighteenth century by the erudite Mexican bibliographer Don Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren. In these Prologues, one may say, are to be found the beginnings of Mexican bibliographical history, and this edition of Dr. Millares constitutes an enrichment of the documents related to that epoch. His work as a professor, in training a group of specialists, and as a scholar, in enlarging our knowledge of Mexican history, will leave deep traces.

The pupils of Professors Ots and Millares are working enthusiastically and fruitfully in several countries of America. I should not wish to slight the labor of the young Professor Malagón Barceló in Santo Domingo and his contributions to the knowledge of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; or Jenaro Artiles, author of a *Curso de Paleografía y Archivología* (Havana, 1940), who is publishing so many hithereto unknown documents concerning the first century of our colonization; or Don Antonio Regalado, who is also in Havana, teaching Latin and working upon the history of that University on the basis of unpublished documents; or the paleographer Miss C. Zulueta, who has trained a group of young ladies now working on an inventory of the rich archives of Bogotá; or the young lady who is working very efficiently in Caracas in the same way.

Another strong personality in the field of historical studies is Dr. Ramón Iglesia, of whom the *Centro de Estudios Históricas* of Madrid entertained hopes that are now confirmed. His intimate knowledge of the documents and authors of the sixteenth century is shown in his

magnificent book *Cronistas e historiadores de la Conquista de México: El ciclo de Hernán Cortés* (Mexico, 1942), as well as in his collection of penetrating essays *El hombre Colón y otros ensayos* (1944). He represents the new type of historian who masters not merely the documents but also the world of ideas with which to interpret them, thus illuminating the context of the epoch. Dr. Iglesia's research about Motolinía's works, now in progress, is awaited with real eagerness: there is so much to know about Motolinía, and so much to expect from the mastery and acuteness of Dr. Iglesia. He knows so perfectly the modern methods used by historians! Dr. Iglesia, it should be added, is training a group of young Mexicans in his seminars.

Teaching and writing in Mexico is the greatest archeologist of Spain, the former Rector of the University of Barcelona, Dr. Pedro Bosch Gimpera. We owe to him the standard work on Peninsular ethnology (Barcelona, 1932); and with A. S. Schulten he has published *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* (4 vols., Barcelona, 1922–37). The civilizations of Iberians and Celts have been carefully studied by Dr. Bosch. Recently, impressed by what has happened in our fatherland, he has tried to discover the intentions latent in the primitive Hispanic cultures in "Two Celtic Waves in Spain" (*Proceedings of the British Academy,* London, 1942), in *"Convivencia y Tolerancia en la historia de España"* (*América,* Mexico, 1941), and in *"Para la comprensión de España"* (*Cuadernos Americanos,* Mexico, Enero-Febrero, 1943). (While this article was being printed, Dr. Bosch's magnificent book, *La formación de los pueblos de España,* has been published—Mexico, 1945.)

Bridging the gap between history and art, researching in archives with first-hand knowledge of parchment and stones, the archivist, poet, essayist, and painter José Moreno Villa is also living in Mexico. Full of originality in his approaches, always a poet whether he writes in prose or in verse, able to reduce emotions, vibrations, and colors suggested by things and ideas to plastic forms through language, Mr. Moreno Villa writes books that delight the highest type of reader, the one gifted with a fine sensibility. This is true equally of a historical evocation such as *Locos, enanos, negros y niños* (Mexico, 1939), or a social-psychological analysis of habits, language, and folklore like *Cornucopia de México* (Mexico, 1940), or an autobiography like *Vida en Claro* (Mexico, 1944)—which contains some of the most beautiful pages of prose produced by our modern writers.

History and music, or rather music as a phenomenon which must be integrated with the social context if it is to be understood, has in Mexico a splendid exponent, the most noted musicographer of Spain—Mr. Adolfo Salazar. The studies published by him in Mexico in 1939 under the title *Música y Sociedad en el siglo XX,* and in 1940 in his beautiful work *La Rosa de los Vientos en la Música Europea (Ediciones de la Orquesta Sinfónica en México),* as well as several other books, were a methodological introduction to the magnificent work which he pre-

sented to the public in 1942–44 in two big volumes, *Music in European Society since the Times of Primitive Christianity (La Música en la Sociedad europea desde los Primeros Tiempos Christianos, El Colegio de México).* The new concepts worked out by modern philosophy and sociology have led Mr. Salazar to analyze music as a form of expression of the conception of life prevailing at a given epoch. Thus, associated with liturgy, with popular festivals and habits, or with the costumes of courts, music too speaks the language of its time, the hopes, the faith, the disappointments. Musician and composer himself, Mr. Salazar has brought to his works not merely the knowledge of a technician, but also an exceptional historical and literary background.

Finally, history, journalism, and political sensibility, blended in the personality of Mr. Augusto Barcia, former Minister of the Spanish Republic, have found expresion in the four volumes through which he has presented to the Argentinians their strong political "patrician," *San Martín en España* (Buenos Aires, 1941–45). The academies have rewarded the author with election to membership and the public with fully deserved praises.

Here and there one can find those who, when they left Spain, were playing a guiding rôle in the cultural life of the fatherland: for example, poets like Alberti, who in Argentina and Uruguay is constantly invited to deliver lectures and recently has published one of the most beautiful poems ever written in Spanish: *"Pleamar."* Writing for the cinema in Buenos Aires is the poet and playwright Alejandro Casona, another figure of the first rank. There also is Alejandro Ontañón, one of the artists who renovated the scenic design of the Spanish theater. In Mexico, also working for the cinema, is Ugarte, the companion of Federico García Lorca in the unforgettable career of the ambulatory theater *"La Barraca";* and with them are other painters, writers, and artists of all kinds.

Spanish publishing houses, like the Spaniards themselves, came to America looking for a climate propitious to the liberty of expression. They located chiefly in two great cities: Buenos Aires and Mexico. In the former, besides the famous *Espasa-Calpe,* which in Spain was operating in Barcelona and Madrid, there appeared the *Editorial Losada* under the direction of Mr. Losada, a man of wide experience, who is advised by a staff of Argentinians and Spaniards. The *Editorial Sud-Americana* is under the direction of Mr. López, who had behind him a long tradition of brilliant performance in this field in association with his father in Barcelona, and is again proving his ability in Buenos Aires.

In Mexico the *Editorial Séneca,* founded by one of the great Spanish essayists, José Bergamín, is outstanding among the Spanish publishing houses. Not of so great importance, but founded by the dynamic and vigorous Mr. Arturo Soria, the publishing house called *"Cruz del Sur"* is located in Chile and has no equal in the quality of its fine productions. But nothing exists in Hispano-America that could be compared

with the institution which two Mexicans, the famous essayist Alfonso Reyes, and the sociologist Daniel Cossío, have succeeded in creating in the publishing house *Fondo de Cultura Económica.* With this, as with the *Colegio de México* and *Cuadernos Americanos* (we may ask: is there another review on the American continent which could survive comparison with this one?)—pleiades of poets, like the late Enrique Diez Canedo, José Moreno Villa, Domenchina, Emilio Prados, Giner de los Ríos, Daniel Zapia, and José H. Petere; novelists like Benjamín Jarnes, Altolaguirre, Repáno, and León Felipe; musicographers like Adolfo Salazar; historians of the arts, like Juan de la Enzina, and many other writers and artists are collaborating fruitfully.

Wherever you look in Hispano-America, you will see former Spanish professors, magistrates of the Supreme Court of Spain, judges, diplomats, technicians of the Council of State, journalists, lawyers, and officers of the army and the navy who are now working either with publishing houses or with the newspapers, or in banks and insurance companies, or as lecturers, or as professors in private institutions of education. The generous earth of America is absorbing with love the noble ideas that my compatriots are sowing with fortitude of soul and faith in ideals.

I have not intended by any means to exhaust my theme, but merely to outline the subject in summary fashion. Nevertheless, I think the summary is complete enough to give a fair understanding of the value of what the Spaniards are doing and the results of their activity. The fraternal feelings that the daily interweaving of their lives produces between the Spaniards and Hispano-Americans are a powerful contribution in making apparent to both the actual meaning of Hispanic culture, the extent of what we have in common as well as the specific character of each country. All this is awakening the consciousness of our unity without excluding the possibility of variety. For centuries we have stressed only one of the two elements which clashed in the sixteenth century. Now, thanks to new approaches discovered by philosophical sociology, we have begun to analyze the historical events of Hispano-American European origins as phenomena of "transculturation" in which one needs to find the *tertium quid* that the melting of the bodies and the spirits in a new geographical milieu created: the roots of the new culture of Mexico, of Colombia, of Peru, of Argentina, and so on. In the past, if we may say the past ended in 1492, Spanish culture was that of Spain. Today it is no longer so, and she is but one country among those that are living and creating the Hispanic sense of life and death. How impressive it was for many of us to read ten years ago the penetrating study of Samuel Ramos *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México* (1934) and to discover so many analogies with Spain! How moving it is to read the final paragraphs of the passionate book of Hector Pérez Martínez, *Cuauhtemoc* (Mexico, 1944), where the idea of the *tertium quid* is already apparent, as it is also in the works of

Agustín Yáñez and in the fine essay *Primera Introducción al mundo hispánico (First Introduction to the Hispanic World)* by José Ferrater Mora, which appeared in the *Revista de las Indias* (Bogotá, February, 1945). We are now very close together; our mutual comprehension has created in us the conviction of our essentially similar conception of values and cultures. Thus the pains and suffering of the forced exile have borne fruit, and tomorrow the new generations of Hispano-Americans and Spaniards, looking to these gloomy days, will say: *Aedificabo.*

PROBLEMS AND TRENDS OF EDUCATION IN THE LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS

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It would be surprising if, in the profound crisis which is affecting the whole world, the republics of Latin America remained unaffected. It would be equally surprising if the crisis failed to direct the attention of these countries to the importance of re-examining their educational foundations. There is a ferment in education in the Latin-American republics which has no parallel in their history, but it is too early to note any great or far-reaching reforms in Latin-American education. The ferment is there, but it will be some time before the obstacles in the way of serious changes can be overcome. These obstacles which are due to a vast complex of causes—geography, lack of adequate means of communication and transportation, social attitudes and traditions, economic and political conditions, composition of population, and religious influences—are too great to be overcome in a few years. The immediate ferment may be new, but there is hardly any one of the Latin-American republics which has not produced educational theorists in the nineteenth century and in increasing numbers in the present century who rank as high as any who have written on education in other parts of the world. The difficulty has always been, however, that the leaders of educational thought have not always possessed that capacity for political leadership which would enable them to translate their theories into practice. There have been and there are many educators who, in the expression of educational ideals, could rank with Sarmiento; but the number who possess his political ability has on the whole been small. It is not without significance, perhaps, that professional organizations in Argentina have in the past two years been warned and many teachers and educators suspended or dismissed from their positions when they sought to pay homage to the memory of Sarmiento or to give expression to the ideals for which he stood in education.

The educational ferment will not be checked, for it had its first beginnings not in the current world crisis but in a new dawn of national and cultural self-consciousness which antedated this crisis. Education in the Latin-American republics has been one of the least Latin-American institutions in the sense of being adapted to the Latin-American environment. It has been an amalgam of various influences—North American in elementary education; French in secondary education; German in vocational and technical education. Education, like culture, was expressed in foreign molds. It has only been in recent years that the creative writers and artists have turned to the Latin-American scene with new eyes and have discovered there something that demands forms of expression more appropriate to itself. Such a transformation seems to have been inevitable in

all recently settled countries. The cultural leaders of Latin America were not different from their confères in the United States, New Zealand, or Australia. It may be sometime, perhaps, before the Latin-American republics reform their educational systems and attune them to the pressing needs of their environment, but here lies one of the chief problems now confronting the educational leaders of these republics.

The leaders in the various fields of creative activity are slowly beginning to recognize what Madariaga has called "the color, the scent, the shape" of national character in their respective environments. With some of the manifestations of this recognition the outside world has already become familiar, especially in art and music. The same change is proceeding in the Latin-American novel and in poetry. With respect to the novel, Luis Alberto Sánchez in an article in *The Nation,* March 22, 1941, p. 323, writes:

A novelistic art cannot be said to exist merely because dozens of novels are published; but only when the novels achieve a common and progressive style. I feel that I must make this basic point (the theme of my book: "America: Novel Without Novelists") before I go on to present the state of the novel of my race in the new continent. As a common style and a durable expression, the novel in both Americas has had, indeed, little more than forty years of life. The precursors, however illustrious (a Hawthorne with you, an Isaacs with us) reveal admirable aptitude for the novel but not the *existence* of the novel as a literary genus, a collective cultural expression. The best proof of this is perhaps the pragmatic one: the average reader of a work of fiction will know by the mere text, the style, the metaphors, the mode of composition, whether the author is French, German, English, Russian; he needs as evidence the name of neither characters nor author. Is this true of the American novels before 1890–1900? I think not. They lack differentiation as a group expression of land or race. And more than any other literary form, the novel is a profound admixture of individual and collective elements.

More than any other literary form, the novel cannot free itself of its social medium; and requires both complexity and a social circuit.

Leopoldo Zea, discussing the question "Is There an American Philosophy?" makes the same points—that Latin America has depended too much upon European thought and has a sense of inferiority through failure to create a philosophy more closely related to reality.

As for Latin Americans, writes Zea, they are resigned to consider themselves inferior not only to the Europeans but to North Americans as well. Far from trying to hide their inferiority complex they make a display of it and revile themselves. Until today they have tried only to live comfortably in the shadow of ideas which they knew were not their own. What has mattered has been not the ideas but rather how to live by them. This is the reason why politics in Latin America has become a bureaucracy. Politics ceases to be an end and becomes an instrument with which to attain a specific bureaucratic position. Neither parties nor ideals matter; what matters is that these parties and ideals permit one to get a certain position. Hence these bewildering, sudden shifts in political programs, hence that incessant change of projects and plans, without ever attaining concrete results. There is constant essaying and planning in accordance with ever-changing ideologies. There is no plan for the citizens of the whole nation because there is no sense of nationality. And there is no sense of nationality because there has not been any sense of things American. . . .

America finds itself in a crucial moment when it has to carry out its historical mission. What this mission may be is one more theme for an American philosophy. (From *Panorama,* November, 1944, pp. 12 f. Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.)

The central issues recognized by the creative artists, who as interpreters of their respective cultures normally show greater insight than those engaged in the everyday work of the world, are slowly but surely beginning to provide the basis for planning the future of education in the Latin-American republics. At the same time the analysis of prevailing conditions also reflects the prevailing weaknesses in Latin-American education —failure to develop aims of education rooted in national culture; lack of a sense of nationality which results in failure to provide adequate facilities for the education of all the children of all the people; the persistence of dual systems of education with inadequate programs for the masses in elementary schools and encyclopedic programs for *la minoría* who will enter public and professional careers; the dominance of control by bureaucracies in education as in other public services with consequent failure to encourage that initiative which alone can stimulate adaptation to the environment and promote progress; a plethora of plans and projects without ability to embody them in legislation or to put them into operation, when enacted; and a sense of inferiority which, more in the past than in the present, has been one reason for the reliance on educational missions from abroad consisting often of men who are experts in their own countries but are ignorant of the cultural background in which they are expected to work.

There is undoubtedly a ferment of ideas in education in the Latin-American republics. The ferment is due to the rising cultural self-consciousness indicated in the preceding quotations; it is due also to the new position attained by these countries in the society of nations; it is stimulated by an altogether new realization of their economic potentialities; and it is being actively promoted by Inter-American conferences and communication. At the First Conference of Ministers and Directors of Education, representing all the American republics, which met in Panama City from September 25 to October 4, 1943, among the more than fifty resolutions passed was the following statement on Fundamental Principles of Education in America:

That American education must be guided by the principles which shape Western culture; and it shall aim:

1. To achieve the harmonious development of the child in physical, intellectual, and moral aspects, insisting upon the formation of character.
2. To exalt respect for the dignity of the common man and for freedom of the spirit.
3. To contribute to the practice of liberty and the realization of social justice.
4. To strengthen the sentiments in favor of international peace and American solidarity. . . .
5. To maintain and perfect democratic processes.
6. To give to all equal opportunities in the different levels and branches of education. . . .
7. To form work habits with the idea of making full use of the land and to create wealth sufficient to raise the material and spiritual level of the American peoples.

The scope of the discussions which led up to the resolutions may be indicated by the list of the topics prepared before the Conference by the Minister of Education in Panama on "Philosophy of Education and Current Professional Problems":

1. Fundamental principles which should serve as a guide for the reorganization and orientation of the American systems of education, taking into account especially the problems of an educational character confronting the Continent as a result of the war;
2. In relation to the economic, political, and social structure of the American Republics;
3. In relation to the republican and democratic ideals of the Continent;
4. In relation to the particular historical, linguistic, biological, etc., characteristics of the American problems;
5. The state and private education in relation to the national ideals;
6. Visual methods and broadcasting in Inter-American education;
7. Adult education;
8. Education of the indigenous;
9. Economic, political, social and pedagogical causes of illiteracy in America;
10. Campaign for literacy, a common standard for determining accurately the index of literacy.

Both the topics selected for discussion and the resolutions passed emerged from the reality of the educational situation to be found in all the Latin-American republics. There is not a single country in which the liquidation of illiteracy has not become a serious concern; allowing for the absence of any standard method for collecting statistics of illiteracy, there is a range from 12 per cent in Argentina (a figure which does not accord with the facts) to over 80 per cent in Bolivia. Illiteracy is due to a variety of causes; one cause is the failure to incorporate large numbers of the populations as citizens of the nation; another is due to the inadequate provision of schools; distance and sparsity of population is another factor; and the prevalence of antiquated curricula which have no meaning or relevance to the lives of the pupils not only leads to early desertion of the schools but adds to the number of illiterates an appreciable number who have attended school but have derived no profit from it. All these causes are being widely considered, and the last cause in particular has directed attention to the need of revising the curricula in both rural and urban schools.

The liquidation of illiteracy is, however, not primarily an educational problem, which in itself is not difficult. More important is the provision of adequate financial resources to provide the necessary school buildings and to attract competent teachers. Whether any of the Latin-American republics can support the kind of educational system that is needed is a matter of doubt under the present methods of taxation and extreme centralization of control which discourages local participation. On the other hand, greater attention than ever before is being devoted to the economic foundations of each country and is leading to the recognition of the importance of a more extensive provision of vocational and technical edu-

cation. This is due in part as much to the new prospects of industrialization as it is to the recognition of the inadequacy of the single-track type of secondary education. At the same time secondary education is being subjected to criticism because of the overemphasis on encylcopedic intellectualism and examinations which, while they serve as methods for keeping down the numbers likely to go on to the universities and professional or public service careers, also lack relevance for the cultural milieu.

Secondary education, however, has been under criticism for well over fifty years but has remained relatively unchanged despite innumerable *proyectos* for reform. Such reform, though long overdue, is likely to encounter greater resistance than the reform of education at other levels for reasons which are as much economic as they are cultural. For the present type of secondary education has been hallowed by time and is cherished as the conserver of that cult of the spirit which Rodó had enjoined on all Latin-American intellectuals. It is also the vestibule to the university, professional careers, and employment in the public services. Hence parents, even though ignorant of Rodó's injunction, tend to support secondary education largely because the choice of careers for their children is on the whole limited. Hence also that *empleomanía*, that preference which places a government job above all other careers. Educational theorists and statesmen have for a long time recognized the defects of a system of education for adolescents which is uniformly academic and undifferentiated; they have received little or no support from those engaged in the field of secondary education, who in the main give only part of their time to school work and follow other pursuits to eke out an income. From this comes another weakness; secondary school teachers are interested in instruction, in the sense of imparting knowledge. rather than in education as the process of developing an understanding of the cultural environment and of cultivating a sense of social responsibility. In secondary and in higher education may be found one explanation for Zea's statement, quoted earlier, "why politics in Latin America has become a bureaucracy. Politics ceases to be an end and becomes an instrument with which to attain a bureaucratic position."

In one of the latest books to reach this country, *Bases de la Pedagogía Constitucional* (Buenos Aires, November, 1944), Américo Ghioldi, member of the Chamber of Deputies of Argentina and until recently associate professor of education at the University of La Plata, presents an analysis of the problems of public education. Although the book is devoted wholly to a consideration of education in Argentina, there is no country in Latin America which is not confronted by exactly the same problems and in which they are not being discussed. Although political equality has existed in Argentina for one hundred and thirty-four years, equality in primary education has not yet been achieved; large number of pupils are not in school at all; many leave school without attaining literacy; the percentage

of adult illiteracy is high and the intellectual level of the large majority of adults is that of the third or fourth grade in primary schools. For national development and the promotion of the unity of the people common, scientific, and democratic education is essential. To this end the system of education should be national, school support should be centralized, the qualifications and remuneration of teachers should be uniform, administration and supervision should be decentralized, and the work of the schools should be adapted to their environment. School programs should be simplified, and made more precise, vitalized, and coördinated. In rural schools the work should be adapted to the rural environment; in all schools manual training should find a place; and everywhere the school should become the homes of the people for their inspiration, instruction, and collaboration. Attention should be devoted to the moral and social education of pupils as future citizens. "After the war there will arise a new hope in the school. . . . It must not be forgotten that the new education demands a new world just as much as a new world demands a new education." The status of teachers needs to be improved in every respect—by salary scales, tenure free from politics, promotion by merit, training in service, and scholarships—if the best teachers are to be secured and retained. The character of inspection should be changed and professionalized. Experimental schools should be established, continuous research should be encouraged on questions of the curriculum, and activity methods of instruction should be studied experimentally.

"Secondary education," writes Ghioldi,

> as given in the national college still retains its ancient prestige, based on the belief that it trains *la minoría* or the directive élite through the humanistic, academic, or liberal program of studies. The truth is that secondary education is admitted to be a failure by ministers who take up the work, but they hand over the problem nevertheless as a legacy to their successors in office.

The methods of selection should be changed and more extensive provision should be made for the classification and guidance of adolescents. At present secondary education is uniform and inflexible without any element of differentiation, and at the same time the teachers as specialists are not educators but purveyors of isolated subjects. Hence verbalism and superficial encyclopedism instead of general culture, an emphasis on the abstract and neglect of the concrete and objective even in the teaching of the sciences. The most urgent reform that is needed in secondary education is the selection and professional preparation of a body of teachers with a lively interest in its problems and assured of a salary scale and promotion by merit. Further, secondary education should be differentiated to include vocational education and should be accessible to all, since "the concept of a liberal education cannot be considered as exclusively academic and abstract." Finally, there should be less centralization of control over secondary education and greater professional autonomy which would encourage freedom and responsibility, evolution and progress so that all

adolescents should have access to some form of secondary education best adapted to their aptitudes and vocational interests.

Such in general are the educational problems which face the Latin-American republics and indicate the trends of the future. How soon actual reforms may be expected will depend on economic conditions following the war, the prospects of industrialization on the one hand and the modernization of agriculture on the other, and the emergence of leaders who, following the programs already outlined by educational theorists, will be able to rise above politics and attack the problems of educational reform as a whole. For one of the most serious obstacles to the progress of education has been the intrusion of politics on which even the employment of teachers at all levels depends.

Some indication of the more immediate needs to be met is given in the type of coöperation which several Latin-American countries have sought from the Inter-American Educational Foundation, Inc., created by the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. In the past it was the practice for the Latin-American countries to invite missions of educational experts to institute and carry out reforms. Under the system recently inaugurated governments of the Latin-American republics will invite the coöperation of the Inter-American Educational Foundation, Inc., which will select the appropriate North-American experts to work with experts selected by the inviting government, depending upon the particular branch of education on which advice is desired. The cost of the coöperative schemes will be shared by the Foundation and the respective governments. A number of contracts have already been entered into, mainly to investigate and study the problems of vocational education for industry and agriculture, teacher preparation for rural, urban, and secondary schools, preparation of teachers in health, home economics, and manual arts, and the teaching of English. In addition it may be expected that the large number of Latin-American students and teachers who have been given the opportunity to spend some time in the United States as well as those sent here by their own governments will in time exercise some influence on the progress of education on their return home.

Other evidences of the educational awakening are provided by the extensive and constantly growing literature on the subject. Latin Americans have always been prolific writers in the field of education, but much of the writing has been critical and theoretical. An important change may be noted in the more recent publications which address themselves to practical problems and issues of the moment. In addition to the volume of works on the history and philosophy of education and on psychology, new journals have been launched which can take their rank among the best in the world. Out of the vast mass of journals, some published by ministries of education, others by teachers' associations, the two outstanding periodicals which should be of interest to students of education are *Nueva Era, Revista Inter-americana de Pedagogía y Cultura,* edited by

Julio C. Larrea (Quito, Ecuador), and the *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos,* published by the *Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos, Ministerio da Educação* and edited by Lourenço Filho (Rio de Janeiro).

To those who seek to understand the Good Neighbors, the study of their educational organization and problems may be recommended, for the stage has been reached when the discussions of education transcend the problems of the school and define not only the issues of today but the promise of tomorrow. Education cannot be divorced from the social, political, and cultural currents of the environment which it is to serve. The study of education in the sister republics serves to throw light on the hopes, the aspirations, and intellectual trends of our neighbors. If the approach is as broad as the study of education should be, it will provide that understanding of our Good Neighbors which alone can be the lasting basis for coöperation.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN MEXICO

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In treating the general theme, "Recent Developments in Economic Thought in Latin America," this paper will not attempt to evade the implied responsibility for sketching a general framework, though it will concentrate its attention on a rather restricted range of material. The paper makes no claim to examine all the recent Latin-American works with implications for economics. Particularly, it must disclaim acquaintance with a large proportion of the great variety of articles appearing constantly in the journals of the major countries. Its observations must be made, in part, from a general acquaintance with policy changes and other implicit evidences of developments in economic theory.

As its principal empirical source, the study has made use of the first three and one-half volumes of *Investigación Económica*, a journal published quarterly since March, 1941, by the School of Economics of the National University of Mexico. The journal is one of three published in the Mexican republic. Because it has a short and manageable scope, and because it represents the group of economists most closely affiliated with economic inquiry in the National University, it has been chosen as the point of departure for this study.

Investigación Económica, in the thirteen issues surveyed from March, 1941, through the first half of 1944, published sixty-nine articles, signed by forty-four authors. Four authors: Hediger, Goldschmidt, Von Mises, and Grabinsky, appear to be foreigners. The remainder are Mexicans, all men of other than academic affiliations, since university teaching in Mexico is in general a poorly remunerated evening avocation. Among the contributors, men of distinction may be singled out, even by the casual observer —an undersecretary of the Treasury and other highly placed administrators, a former administrator of the petroleum industry, attorneys, bankers, engineers—and the most prolific writer of Mexican economic articles—the Director of the Bank of Mexico.

The sixty-nine articles forming the principal subject matter of this paper have been classified according to their general approach and treatment into two major categories—theoretical and empirical. Ten of the articles reviewed deal primarily with theory; six others undertake the theoretical analysis of early Spanish economic writers; and three deal with phases of Mexican economic history. One article deals with Friedrich Lizst, German economist of the mid-nineteenth century. The remaining forty-nine articles might best be described as empirical, rather than as applied economics.

Since economic thought, for purposes of this paper, is economic theory, we will first be concerned with the ten theoretical articles. Seven of these are fairly directly concerned with Anglo-Saxon value theory, while three are efforts to formulate certain aspects of a Mexican theory of economics.

Of the seven articles elaborating foreign value theory, one by Professor Ludwig von Mises, entitled "The Illusions of Protectionism and Autarchy," may be dismissed as of only passing significance for the Mexican scene. First published in English in 1937, it is strict Smithian economics, an able plea for free trade and freedom of economic activity as the main guides to economic progress.[1]

Of somewhat more interest, because it was written by a Mexican, is an impassioned plea for freedom of economic enterprise by Luis Montes de Oca, entitled, "La Intervención del Estado en la Actividad Económica."[2] For a writer living in an economy whose chief characteristic to the outside observer is state intervention, Montes de Oca does not clarify exactly the degree of intervention which his economic theory would permit. His work seems to have very little reference to any Mexican theory; on the other hand, in building up his position he runs the gamut of the stoutest defenders of economic individualism—Adam Smith, Lionel Robbins, Schumpeter, von Hayek, Walter Lippmann. Denouncing roundly the monolithic Russian state, the Nazis, the corporativist order, the Spanish Falange, he qualifies:

> But neither liberal doctrine nor economic theory presents any objection to the regulation of the economy through a system of general and permanent norms, applicable, in principle, to all alike, which establish an institutional framework within which private individuals make economic decisions.[3]

Apparently, he would tolerate only laws setting up free competition, free contract, and defining private property, for he writes:

> As an economic policy, interventionism produces a result diametrically opposed to the end which it seeks, as in place of abundance it results in scarcity.[4]

Somewhat gingerly he approaches the problem of Mexican government corporations, observing that as temporary expedients where private capital was not functioning satisfactorily, they have some justification. For an extreme individualist, he proves himself a man of some fairness and tolerance by observing that, though government operation of railroads has not proved especially efficacious, the roads were already sufficiently bad before the organization of Ferrocarriles Nacionales.[5] The work shows a wide acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon and north European classical liber-

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[1] Ludwig Edler von Mises, "Las Ilusiones del Proteccionismo y de la Autarquía," *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 28–54.

[2] *Investigación Económica*, 1943, vol. III, no. 3, pp. 223,

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

alism. The fact that it so ably marshals a wide variety of individualist theorists and arguments in defense of classical liberalism and so completely ignores an equally valuable body of critical work suggests the able advocate rather than the scholarly economist.

An article showing praiseworthy scholarly detachment and a highly developed critical sense in economic theory is that by Francisco Zamora on "The Objective Theory of Value."[6] He deals with the development of the labor theory of value by Smith and Ricardo, summing up the contributions of each and the shortcomings of their combined treatment. He concludes that Smith, reducing labor to sacrifice of ease and idleness, and Ricardo, attributing the value of rare things to the riches and variable inclinations of those who desire to possess them, both in their own way open the porthole through which, in time, the objectivity of the classical theory of value was to escape, little by little.[7]

Victor Luis Urquidia, an able exponent of Keynesian theory in its closest and most technical detail, applies the concept of the external multiplier to the balance of payments.[8] The article is a lucid explanation of the Keynesian theory of the marginal propensity to save and its necessary relationship to investment. It is a satisfying treatment of the marginal propensity to import and of the use of an external multiplier to foreign trade. Urquidia's attempt to make practical applications of the theory is much less satisfactory. He concludes:

> The external multiplier gives place to a protectionist argument which apparently has much weight. This argument consists in that if the marginal propensity to import is reduced by imposing tariffs . . . the total income of the country is increased. But in reality this argument is no more convincing than the resort of depreciating the value of the currency as a means of correcting an imbalance of flow . . . and in the long run the exclusion of imports leads to the diminution of exports.[9]

All this presupposes the doubtful possibility of calculating, for any particular practical situation, the external multiplier. And, having run the intricate maze of Keynesian theory, Urquidia arrives at precisely the position which he might well have reached by common sense reasoning. For purposes of a survey of Mexican economic thought, however, the article is of considerable importance. It proves that Mexico has at least one theorist who is thoroughly master of the Keynesian method, which is susceptible of infinitely more important uses in a modern industrial economy than this particular application to the balance of payments.

An article by Nathán Grabinsky Asz is an explanation of class struggle with respect to wages. It is a fairly conventional exposition of the Marxist

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[6] *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. II, pp. 189–208.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[8] Victor Luis Urquidia, "El Concepto del Multiplicador Exterior," *Investigación Económica*, 1941, vol. I, no. 1, pp. 115–125.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

theory of a capitalist class organized to reduce wages and a laboring class organized into unions to oppose it.[10]

This point of view was more generally held by Mexican economic writers during the 1930's when the *Revista de Economía* was the organ of the Front of Revolutionary Economists. It is not to be discounted among Mexican scholars, even when quiescent.

Jorge Quijano's "New Method of Adjusting a Logistic Curve" is a mathematical method of predicting population growth by transforming the logistic curve to a straight line, which perhaps has other applications of more direct importance to the science of economics. The presentation is baldly mathematical and does not suggest any definite possibilities to the non-mathematical student.[11]

Gabriel Franco has approached the problem of public finance from its contrasting orientations in Anglo-Saxon and continental countries.[12] His paper is an interesting attack on the tripartite division of economics: national economics, political economy, and public finance. This division, originating in Germany, has spread to most continental countries and dominates nearly all Latin-American countries. Franco finds public finance, as divorced from economics, indefensible as a theoretical science.

Perhaps the most challenging, and certainly the most difficult to evaluate of all the theoretical articles, is on the complementary relations of economics and sociology, by José Medina Echavarría.[13] Leaning heavily on the Talcott Parsons theory of the structure of social action, Medina Echavarría arrives at somewhat different conclusions than do most students of economic theory. Economics, for him, is the theory of economic action, while for most economists it is basically a theory of economic development. Drawing heavily on a brilliant coterie of popular philosophers, economists, sociologists, Medina Echavarría undertakes the difficult job of integrating economics and sociology.

> Since no science gives, by itself, a theoretical explanation of all the concrete facts and one must resort to a synthesis of the principles of all of them, the intellectual cosmos of the social sciences would be made up of the integration of diverse theories; principally by sociology with regard to the theory of social action in general, economics with regard to economic action, and politics, with regard to the theory of the structure of control.[14]

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[10]Nathán Grabinsky Asz, "Algunos Aspectos de la Teoría Marxista de los Salarios," *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 121–132.

[11]Jorge Quijano, "Nuevo Método de Ajustar una Curva Logistica," *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 399–404.

[12]Gabriel Franco, "La Ciencia de la Hacienda Pública como una disciplina teórica de carácter puramente económico," *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. II, no. 3, pp. 275–292.

[13]José Medina Echavarría, "Economía y Sociología," *Investigación Económica*, 1942, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 102–132.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 117.

These articles devoted to general theory suggest that Mexicans are aware of all the main currents of economic method prevailing in the modern world. Montes de Oca represents the extreme neo-classical position; Medina Echavarría, the institutionalist, historical, and sociological approaches; Quijano, mathematical methodology; Urquidia, the Keynesian analysis; Zamora, the method of the historian of economic thought. For the most part, these theoreticians represent an expository approach to theory derived from Anglo-Saxon writers. Quijano makes a relatively minor contribution to mathematical method. Medina Echavarría contributes considerable by way of synthesis. Essentially, all these theoreticians are working on the fringes of a foreign pabulum.

Within the past fifteen years the interests of Mexican theorists have been very active in economics. The *Fondo de Cultura Económica* has translated most of the classics and many of the current works in British economics. It seems almost safe to say that this one publisher in little more than a decade has translated more works of economic theory than had been previously written in or translated to the Spanish language. Even with this enormous accession of interest in a wide range of theoretical works, it seems doubtful that Mexicans or any other Latin Americans will make a decided contribution to economic theory as it is presently conceived in Anglo-Saxon lands.

Before we pass to the field of economic study in which Mexican backgrounds promise a significant contribution, it seems relevant to point out that no comprehensive theory of economic development has ever originated in any Iberian country. The Iberian peoples made little or no contribution to the development of economic thought during that eventful period from 1776 to 1886, during which economic science, as we know it in Anglo-Saxon lands, was largely being formulated. Undoubtedly, one reason for the very modest contribution of the Iberians to economic thought during this formative period was that they contributed so little that was new or revolutionary in economic activity, but there is a more complete explanation of this circumstance.

Though it is impossible to recount here the complete pattern of events which had so largely differentiated the common sense of Ibero-American and Anglo-American peoples with respect to economic policy by the end of the nineteenth century, it is not amiss to point out the differing circumstances which impinged on the peoples of northwestern Europe and on the peoples of the Iberian peninsula at two of the critical junctures of the history of the continent. The closing of the Mediterranean to Christian shipping in the seventh century almost completely destroyed the economic equilibrium of antiquity. When trade and communications collapsed, when urban life largely disappeared in the west, the Roman institutional structure became meaningless, so far as economic processes were concerned. It simply disappeared and paved the way for a profound economic

revolution possible only to people meeting economic activity as a revolutionary process, as they did in feudal Europe.

During the darkest period of the high middle age in feudal Europe, the Iberian peninsula was largely under control of the Mohammedans. Implacable as foes in war, particularly in the privateering type of sea warfare which made the Tyrrhenian coast almost uninhabitable for Christians, the Arab leaders and the Berber princes who followed them were the most tolerant of rulers. Christian and Jewish subjects in Spain were tithed on the basis of their income, the fairest tax system in Europe until after the French Revolution. Far from disappearing, as in feudal Europe, economic activity flourished, with trade oriented toward Bagdad and Damascus. A great part of southern Spain became Mozarabic, though it remained Christian in religion and Roman in institutional structure.

This peculiar survival of Roman law and Roman municipal structure and tradition was greatly heightened by the reconquest. The brilliant and democratic municipal life of New Castile during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was perhaps due to the existence of rival sets of rulers and to the process of reconquest rather than to a full-dress survival of Roman municipal democracy. The reconquest led immediately and progressively to a reconstitution and adaptation of the Roman institutional heritage. This fact makes of the Iberian institutional common sense a bridge across the feudal middle age of northwestern Europe to the ancient Mediterranean world.

Roman law, like any legal structure, has a very definite attitude toward economic policy and the orientation of economic enterprise. A great contribution to its economic content was made during the social revolution of the second and third centuries, when economic problems and class strife finally resulted in a large degree of intervention in economic activity on the part of government. This tradition of a strong government with prerogatives for intervening in the economic affairs of its citizens, with a sense of responsibility for the common economic welfare, is one aspect only of the very complex neo-Roman structure which has characterized the Iberian peoples since the consummation of the reconquest. But it is the aspect which serves to bring into bold relief the irrelevance of the liberal revolution and of the tenets of classical liberalism and price theory among Iberian peoples.

The classical economic theory of the nineteenth century, from which stem the only comprehensive theories of economic development, would have been unthinkable without the new class structure of northwestern Europe in which preponderant economic power came to rest with the entrepreneurial class. Without the support of the merchants and of commercial agriculture, the philosophical radicals of the eighteenth century could never have existed. This is not to imply that these classes did not exist in Spain or that they were unimportant. It is to say that they played a rôle that was distinctly secondary to imperial administration and that

they lacked the revolutionary momentum which they had achieved in lately feudal northwestern Europe.

As a theory explaining the way economic forces work when economic individuals are free to implement them, as a theory which fervently sought to rest the whole of economic policy on an enlightened self-interest as the invisible hand which would lead men into a beneficent and self-regulating economic equilibrium, classical economic theory has always been unthinkable in lands of Iberian institutions. Not, however, without its advocates in the Iberian tradition, classical doctrine has had a scant hearing and few and rather unoriginal expositors in Latin America.

If the Ibero-American thinker was peculiarly unfitted for and unconcerned with classical economic ratiocination and remains largely an interested observer and expositor in the development of most of its current derivatives, he is, on the other hand, peculiarly at home in an old type of economic inquiry, lately become important. Having hibernated through the whole span of classical liberalism, the Latin American wakes up in a twentieth-century economic world where his institutional consensus and the methodology it implies is much closer to the center of economic thought than before. Among jurists of Roman law background, the problems of rationalizing the relationships between government and economic enterprise have always been of paramount importance. Welfare liberalism, since it first became articulate in the British Liberal Labor coalition which swept to power in 1905, has increasingly reformed and replaced classical liberalism both with respect to policy and to economic thought in practically all lands where industrial civilization has touched. This reversal of a two-hundred-year-old trend brings Anglo America and Latin America much closer together.

An article by Antonio Carrillo Flores on the constitution and the economic action of the state points the way to what may be a very significant line of economic inquiry for the Mexican economist, who is also frequently a lawyer.[15] Carrillo Flores appears to be thoroughly versed in the constitutional jurisprudence of the United States as well as in that of Mexico. This comparative study of constitutional jurisprudence carries great possibilities and undeniable interest. The rule of reason intrigues Carrillo, because no such interpretive latitude exists in Mexico. In fact, the Mexican supreme court has no authority to strike down a law. It judges only its specific applications.

The formal limits imposed on state action in the economic sphere set by the Mexican constitution are much less severe than those in the United States. Though private property is specifically recognized, the nation has at all times the right to impose on it whatever norms may be dictated by the public interest.[16] Though state monopolies are expressly forbidden

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[15]Antonio Carrillo Flores, "La Constitución y la Acción Económica del Estado," *Investigación Económica*, vol. I, 1941, no. 4, pp. 277–296.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 281.

by the Mexican Magna Carta, that document also permits the state to take charge of natural resources whose conservation or equitable distribution seem to be threatened by private appropriation. Carrillo Flores contrasts the Mexican constitution with the Code Napoleon on the matter of "regulated use" of private property in the former and use in the "manner most absolute" in the latter. Liberty of labor, commerce, and industry are established in Mexico, subject to *licitud*, which is to say subject to whatever laws the congress may pass. This, Carrillo Flores observes, gives the state power to reform and redefine property.[17]

Article 28 of the Mexican Constitution is silent on the regulation of prices, but a legal interpretation of 1934 authorizes the State to intervene to protect the public interest wherever there may be a lack of free competition.[18]

Addressing the problem of when the state may undertake the exploration on an industry, Carrillo Flores again refers to American debates, noting especially the one over the T. V. A., which was sustained indirectly in its right to compete with private power companies by a supreme court decision in 1939.[19] He notes that the regulative law of Article 28 of the Mexican constitution takes for granted the right to organize economic enterprises, without setting any satisfactory limits on the power.

Carrillo Flores sets up criteria, at least one of which should, in his judgment, be involved in government enterprise: (1) the outright nationalization of certain activities; (2) the exploitation of certain resources of public property, such as petroleum; (3) the recognition of the necessity for a service which does not offer sufficient hopes of profits to attract private investment; (4) the conviction of the inefficacy of pure police regulation to protect the public interest; (5) enterprises to underwrite demand; and (6) enterprises whose purpose would be the integration of services considered too important to the welfare of the State to be in the hands of foreigners.[20] The article concludes by observing that the Mexican constitution puts no substantial obstacle in the path of the Nation's functioning as a modern state with respect to economic policy.[21]

Similar articles along the same legal-economic line were contributed by Raúl F. Cárdenas[22] and Jesús Rodríguez[23] on public utilities. Space does not permit elaboration of their contributions to theory and method here.

The empirical studies published during the period under consideration offer relatively slight theory content—that is to say, value and distribution

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[18] *Ibid.*, 284.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 288–289.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[22] *Investigación Económica*, 1944, vol. III, no. 1, pp. 81–94.
[23] *Ibid.*, 1944, vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 63–76.

theory come in for very rare mention. The studies are classifiable under eighteen heads as follows:

Effects of war on various economic sectors	8
Transportation	6
Money and banking	5
Mexican social security	4
Agriculture	4
Land tenure	3
Industrial development	3
Postwar speculation	3
Mining	2
Coöperatives	2
Taxation	2
Fiscal jurisprudence	2
Foreign trade	1
Wage regulation	1
Price control	1
Current policy (1941)	1
Housing	1
Fishing	1

Those which seem to offer the greatest possibilities for deriving generalizations are those dealing with industrialization. There is, however, little that is related to abstract economic theory. The generalizations are résumés of the facts of industrial experience and resources.

THE STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

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To be understood, the development of sociology in Latin America must be seen as a phase of a wider movement, for its roots are deeply imbedded in an intellectual upheaval common to the entire western world. In a discussion of the part the movement of European ideas played in the Latin-American struggle for independence, Sarmiento once observed that "America did what she did because all other people were doing the same thing." The remark is equally applicable to the development of sociology in Latin America.

As in Europe so also in Latin America, the first "sociologizing" was done as a part of the intellectual reorientation which preceded and was certainly one of the effective causes of the Latin-American revolution. Once introduced, and for reasons which we need not here pause to examine, sociology in Latin America has run a course quite similar to that which it has everywhere followed.

Ignoring the three centuries of the colonial regime as almost without significance so far as the development of sociology is concerned, we find that students of Latin-American sociology agree in the identification of three rather clearly-defined periods. Chronologically, the first period extends from the opening to about the middle of the nineteenth century, the second from 1850 to the close of the century, and the third covers the years since the beginning of the present century. Descriptively, it is interesting to note that Bernard, one of the most competent students of Latin-American sociology, labels these periods the "preliminary period," the "period of historical and particularistic theories," and the "period of specialization and systematization."

It is proposed to give brief attention to each of these periods.

The first period, then, extends from about 1800 to 1850 and may be called the "preliminary period of philosophical speculation." Though it is true that we can begin with 1800 because the colonial period was largely unproductive of any literature that could be called "sociological," it is also true that events of the last half of the eighteenth century were not without significance in that they provided the socio-psychological seedbed in which the sociological movement could and did take root. For, beginning about 1750 a tremendous ferment began to agitate the intellectual climate of opinion in Latin America. Through this movement new vigor was infused into Latin-American scholarship and new ideas and aspirations began to stir the imaginations of men.

It is no disparagement to say that all this was incidental to and a reflection of events in Europe. Great changes were impending on the continent and the exclusive and restrictive colonial system was no longer adequate

to prevent repercussions in Latin America. Moreover, the reform programs initiated by the Spanish and Portuguese regimes, though aimed in the opposite direction, had the net effect of aiding and abetting that which they were designed to avoid. Throughout the length and breadth of Latin America new ideas began to course, new dreams were formulated, and new hopes were aroused.

Thus was developed an attitude which Poviña has called "social realism" —an attitude which produced a type of scholarly activity which marks the foreshadowing of sociology. So to speak, men began to look at the social world in which they lived with their eyes open. No longer able to view it in terms of the frame of reference provided by medieval scholasticism, they began to cast about for alternative explanations. And though the thinkers of the time made an honest effort to look at things objectively, their perfectly understandable lack of any adequate theoretical orientation resulted in the "philosophizing" and "speculating" so typical of the period. Nothing else could have occurred under the circumstances.

It was, therefore, a period when in all the great revolutionary centers, the liberal thought of Europe was being mediated to Latin America. Echavarría, Rivadavia, Moreno, and Monteagudo in Argentina; the Andrada brothers in Brazil; Miranda, Nariño, and Bolívar in New Granda; de Lisardi, Ramírez, and Mora in Mexico; Henríquez, Bello, and Rojas in Chile—these men represent the effort to look at the social world with open eyes; they are the precursors of sociology in Latin America.

Again, this was the period in which social science was introduced into the university curricula. As Bernard remarks,[1] this development occurred "at about the same time or a little later than the establishment of chairs in these subjects in the colleges and universities of the United States." And, one might add, for the same reasons.

Furthermore, this was a period in which the study and teaching of social science was largely a by-product of interest in government and law. Students of the problem have suggested that this feature of the development of sociology in Latin America is unique save for some faint analogies in Spain and Italy, where a similar relationship obtained.

Moreover, in consequence of this close relationship, this was a period when sociology, as such, had no separate existence. In other words, this relatively unique situation in Latin America served to intensify one of the features which is characteristic of the development of sociology everywhere. Here as elsewhere, sociology as a separate discipline emerged relatively late because men were aware of aspects of their collective life long before they sensed the whole.

This period was also characterized by borrowing and adaptation rather than by initiation and creation. The Latin-American precursors looked to

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[1]L. L. Bernard, "The Social Sciences as Disciplines: Latin America," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, p. 305.

Europe for their models and in this they were but doing that which their Anglo-American colleagues of the same period were also engaged in.

So much for the dominant characteristics of the preliminary period. Since it did not witness the production of a sociological literature in the strict sense, in a paper such as this, one may be pardoned for the failure to elaborate on the works of the great representatives of the period. As Crawford suggests,[2] these men, as a class, are best designated by the term the Latin Americans themselves prefer:—they were *pensadores*—a "term as elastic as the eighteenth century 'philosophes' which is as close to sociologist as to philosopher." In that they were speculating about the kind of new world which they believed ought to arise out of the ruins of the old they were philosophers. They were "pre-sociological" only in the fact that they had thrown off the shackles of an earlier type of intellectual orientation and were seeking to achieve a point of view in terms of which they could look at society objectively.

It is always permissible—though some would perhaps call it futile—to conjecture what might have happened if the course of history had been different. In this connection, it is interesting to wonder how much more rapidly sociology in Latin America might have developed had it not been for the period of reaction which followed the events of the first quarter of the 19th century. As it was, the achievement of independence resulted in the entire Latin-American area sinking into a condition of almost unimaginable political chaos and confusion, relief from which was secured at the price of the dictatorships, of which the Rosas tyranny in Argentina is a particularly good example. As might be expected, under such circumstances, the universities were reduced to mere shadows and writing in the social sciences was all but extinguished, a condition which was not corrected until the downfall of the dictatorships initiated the reconstruction period.

Save for important exceptions, then, the last half of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of conditions which were more or less propitious for a renewal of the development of the sociological movement. Independence had been securely established and was everywhere taken for granted. The excessive turmoil of the early years had subsided somewhat and Latin Americans again had time to wonder about themselves. And it was the novelty of their independence plus the turbulence and instability which followed hard upon its achievement that determined the focus of their interest. In this fashion was initiated what may be called the "Middle Period of Positivistic Particularism."

This was a period dominated by the positivistic spirit. As Barnes and Becker[3] remark in their discussion of the development of a sociological jurisprudence in Latin America, the spread of positivism developed a

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[2]W. R. Crawford, *A Century of Latin American Thought*, p. 4.

[3]H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Social Thought From Lore to Science*, Vol. II, p. 1123.

sociological emphasis in law which anticipated many phases of the similar movement in the United States a quarter of a century later. The cordial reception of positivism resulted in a sociological enthusiasm so marked that one observer,[4] writing in 1889, declared that "positivistic science has delivered the study of legislation and law over to the study of sociology." Given the close connection between positivism as a point of view and the effort to utilize science as a method for studying human behavior, this was to be expected. It meant a re-affirmation of the intention to look at the social order as a natural order.

Moreover, since the young nations of Latin America were quite naturally extremely self-conscious there developed what Bernard has called a "local" or "national" sociology. As he expresses it, most of the sociological writing before 1900 was an attempt at the interpretation of Latin-American history, with the result that these histories are much more philosophic and explanatory, or sociological than those of the United States or of Europe. They are marked by an overwhelming impulse to explain as well as recount.

Furthermore, as Latin-American scholars set about the task of attempting an explanation of their national life, they did exactly what their Anglo-American colleagues of the same period were doing. They again borrowed from Europe and adapted to their purposes a wide variety of particularistic theories that had been formulated on the continent as men there had grappled with the problem of looking at human behavior with their eyes open.

So far as I know, W. E. Moore, in an unpublished manuscript, has undertaken the only systematic classification we yet have of the body of sociological theory which has resulted from this effort of Latin Americans to understand and explain their national history. Though limited to the examination of the thought of Argentine scholars, I believe that it is safe to assume that the results are typical of developments in other countries as well.

Basing his classification on what he calls "definite patterns of sociological interpretation current among the Argentine writers"—a phrase which he employs as synonymous with what the American social scientists call "schools,"—Moore identifies the following types of theories:

1. Geographic Deterministic Theories: In this group are included all discussions of the relationship of geographic factors to (1) distribution of population, (2) economic structure, (3) race, (4) physiological and mental development and efficiency and (5) social and political structure and development.
2. Biological Analogies and Biological Deterministic Theories: Here are considered (1) organicism; (2) social Darwinism; (3) ethnic and racial determinism; and (4) demographic theories.
3. Socio-Historical Theories: Here are grouped (1) theories of social change—that is, theories having to do with conceptions of social evolution and progress, social revolution, and varying rates of change; and (2) interpretation of history or the so-called "National Sociology."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1123.

4. Institutional Theories: That is "theories which emphasize the forms and products of group activity rather than recurring or developmental change."
5. Social Psychological Theories: That is, "all those explanations of social phenomena phrased in the terminology of psychology." Four groups of such theories are identified (1) instinctivist theories; (2) theories of personality and psychopathology; (3) social interaction theories; (4) various types of "collective psychology."

Although Moore wrote without reference to the stages through which the sociological movement in Latin America has developed, it is most interesting to note that his classification unwittingly validates the periods which we have delimited. Examination of his data will show that the "Institutionalist" and "Socio-psychological" theories are almost entirely the contributions of sociologists of the modern period. On the other hand, as might be expected, works discussed under the remaining categories, representing as they do various types of particularistic theories, are largely products of the nineteenth century.

Such, then, was the nature of the sociological theorizing of the middle period. Who were the men who did the work? In a paper of this nature such a question is most irritating because only a mutilated answer can be given. A long list of names, all of them worthy, could easily be compiled. Those to be mentioned are simply those that come most readily to mind.

For Argentina, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Francisco and José María Ramos Mejía, Ingenieros, Agustín Suárez, and Carlos Bunge are outstanding.

For Brazil, the names of Benjamín Constant, Teixeira Mendes, Sylvio Romero, Fausto Cardoso, Euclydes da Cuna, José do Manoel Bomfim, and Ruy Barbosa press for recognition.

For Chile, the work of Diego Barros Arana, Gonzalo Bulnes, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, José Toribio Medina, José Victorino Lastarria, Rafael Fernández Concha, and Valentín Letelier merit inclusion.

For Mexico, Gabino Barreda, Porfirio Parra, Agustín Aragón, Ezequiel Chaves, Justo Sierra, and Francisco Bulnes claim attention.

And other countries, if unable to show quite so imposing an array, have also contributed outstanding figures to the thought of the period. Juan Montalvo in Ecuador, Manuel González Prada in Peru, Enrique José Varona y Pera, Jose Martí, and Eugenio María de Hostos y Bonilla in Cuba—these and many others might be mentioned.

The interesting thing about these men is that Crawford's characterization of one of them fits them all when he says that "the completeness and representativeness of Sarmiento lies in his many-sidedness. . . . A career so varied refused to be tagged with one label. In him journalism does not kill the writer, the writer does not kill the teacher, nor the teacher the statesman, nor the statesman the sociologist and political philosopher. He was all these at once."[5]

[5] W. R. Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–43.

The result is that whether it is a historian compiling a bibliography, a Crawford tracing a *Century of Latin-American Thought* or a Poviña writing a *History of Latin-American Sociology* these are the names that always appear. And this is as it should be. For, first of all, men are primarily men reacting to the conditions in which they find themselves; they are secondarily historians, or philosophers, or sociologists.

Nevertheless, it is a fair question to ask why these names should appear in a discussion of the development of sociology in Latin America. The answer is simple: in one way or another they were all developing and testing theories in an effort to explain the course of social evolution in Latin America.

In *Facundo*, Sarmiento attempts to explain Argentine history in terms of a struggle between the civilization of the cities and the barbarism of the country, with geographic factors bulking large in determining the nature of the struggle. As an old man he returned to the problem in his *Conflict and Harmony of Races*, this time to weight the scales in favor of racial considerations as preponderant in charting the course of Argentina's national evolution.

In *Simulation in the Struggle for Existence*, Ingenieros, the social Darwinian, views human behavior with the trained eye of the psychopathologist, and examines the hypothesis that "the pattern of survival is compounded of two elements, strength and fraud; we get on in the world, defend ourselves, and survive, by using the instruments of power and guile."

In *Bases and Points of Departure for the Political Organization of the Argentina Republic*, Alberdi defends the thesis that "to govern is to populate in the sense that to populate is to educate, to improve, to civilize, to enrich and make great."

In the *History of Argentine Evolution*, Francisco Ramos Mejía explores the proposition that Argentine institutions are to be understood in terms of the interaction of Spanish influences and the colonial environment.

In *The Argentine Crowds*, José María Ramos Mejía investigates the nature and functions of crowd behavior on the assumption that therein is to be found the explanation of dictatorship.

In *Our America: An Essay in Social Psychology*, Carlos Bunge attempts the impossible task of explaining the psychology of the Spanish people in terms of the geographic configuration of the Iberian peninsula.

In *The Hinterlands*, Da Cunha, in a manner comparable to Sarmiento's *Facundo*, studies the relationship between "life and the land."

In *Latin America*, Bomfim undertakes to explain the retardation of Latin America by arguing that "the colonies of South America were born and lived under a regime of parasitism, the influence of which did not cease to affect them even after independence."

In *America*, Lastarria pleads for Europeans to come and make a careful study of South-American society as a means of validating his belief that

Europe and America have a common origin and a common task in the world.

In his *Evolution of History,* Letelier, seeking to establish a division of labor between history, the science of the past, and sociology, the study of the permanent laws of the social order, argues that individual explanations in history are superficial and that the whole state of society must be studied if one is to understand the actions of individual men.

In the *Political Evolution of the Mexican People,* Sierra, the social organicist, postulates that society "is a living being, and as such grows, develops, and undergoes transformations. . . ."

In *The Future of the Hispanic-American Nations in the Face of the Recent Conquests of Europe and the United States,* Francisco Bulnes, one of the original *científicos,* marshals the facts of food chemistry in support of the somewhat bizarre hypothesis that the peoples who eat wheat are the only truly progressive ones, destined ultimately to triumph over the corn-eaters and rice-eaters.

In the *Treatise on Sociology,* Hostos, the moralist and reformer, turned sociologist, undertakes to state the laws of society in general and does so, as Crawford[6] remarks, "without benefit of charts, tables or photographs of housing conditions."

And so one might go on but these brief sketches must end sometime and it may as well be now. Perhaps enough has been said to suggest why this has been called "the middle period of positivistic particularism."

One comes, then, to the modern period of scientific specialization and systematization. Since this is also the period in which sociology achieved academic respectability, it is just as well to begin with a brief consideration of developments in the universities.

With the initiation of the reconstruction period which was made possible by the beginnings of decline in dictatorships, there was also a marked revival in the universities. This was accompanied, quite naturally, by a renewal of interest in social science.

However, during most of the nineteenth century the close relationship between law and social science continued. In fact, all social science was thought of as "law" *(derecho),* and the various social sciences, law excepted, were limited to one or two courses, always taught along with law.

About the middle of the nineteenth century, in consequence of the revival of the revolutionary spirit and the resultant renewal of the conflict between a moribund colonial social heritage and the embryonic democratic faith, a very significant shift began to occur. As Barnes and Becker[7] aptly remark, the lawyers succeeded the priests as the ranking members of the professional hierarchy, and law, until then not popular, became the leading profession.

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[6]W. R. Crawford, *op. cit.,* p. 246.

[7]*Op. cit.,* p. 1122.

Thus was initiated a developmental process that may be summarized as follows: canon law began to disappear from university curricula after 1860, its place being taken by "natural law." By the 1880's natural law had evolved into the "philosophy of history," and by the 1890's the subject matter tended to fall into two groups. One group comprehended what might be called "Institutional History" and "General Jurisprudence"; the other included sociology and anthropology, the material presented in these courses corresponding closely to courses under those names given in our own universities at that time.

And, though social science continued to be taught in the law schools, it also became a part of the academic offerings of the newly-established schools of philosophy and letters, the schools of business administration and commerce, the agricultural schools, and was even introduced into the normal colleges and secondary schools.

Omitting any further reference to the development of the other social sciences, it may be said that sociology emerged out of the old *derecho natural*, and by the closing years of the nineteenth century appeared in university curricula as a section in courses on law. Typical of this stage of development was the work of Antonio Dellepiane who, as professor of the Philosophy of Law in the Law School of Buenos Aires, devoted a section of his courses to sociology as early as 1895. By 1898 the School of Philosophy and Letters had established the first professorship of sociology as such. Dellepiane served as instructor for one year and the post then remained vacant until it was assumed by Ernesto Quesada in 1904, the date which marks the effective establishment of sociology as a recognized academic discipline. Since this date it has enjoyed steady growth throughout the continent and today is firmly established among the course offerings of virtually all universities. It is interesting to note that in keeping with developments in Europe and the United States, it was the achievement of this status that initiated the trend toward specialization and systematization which characterizes the work of the period.[8]

Such a trend was, of course, inevitable. Latin-American sociologists were but learning the lesson that had to be learned by their colleagues everywhere. They had to learn that science itself is but a way of responding to a stimulating environment—that it is, essentially, a given kind of method for gathering a given kind of data for a given kind of purpose. They had to learn that if they wished to help build the needed "basic science of human behavior" they would have to use that method, gather that kind of data, and achieve that purpose. In short, they had to learn that the way to build a sociology was to observe human behavior with a

[8] *La Historia de la Sociología en Latinoamerica* has been interestingly told by Alfredo Poviña in his book by that title. Published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica of Mexico City, it is the first attempt at presenting a survey of the development of sociology in Latin America. Not the least interesting feature of the book are the syllabi of courses in sociology offered in the principal universities.

view to abstracting out of the welter of concrete events that which was typical and general. Only so could they hope to develop some degree of predictive and control ability. In effect, this meant specialization and systematization.

The trend toward specialization meant a realization of the fact that science does not consist in stating a hypothesis and then sitting and wondering about it. It meant observation, classification, generalization, and validation. This the Latin Americans began to do.

The trend toward systematization meant a recognition of the fact that a miscellaneous collection of facts does not constitute knowledge—much less scientific knowledge. Somehow or other, the facts must be organized into a "body of verified propositions so related that under given rules the system is self-consistent and compatible with empirical observation." This also the Latin Americans proposed to do. All this, therefore, was an indicated and wholesome development.

A third characteristic of the modern period was that the tendency to borrow continued. For the hypotheses to be tested, the specialists looked abroad, and for the ideas to be included in their syntheses the systematizers did likewise. This was, of course, quite natural since sociology abroad had not been so severely handicapped by political conditions.

It is also quite significant that there has been a sharp increase in the use made of the work of sociologists in the United States. This again was to be expected since the social milieu in this country has been somewhat more favorable to the development of sociology than has been the case elsewhere.

In this connection it is interesting to note what might be termed a "lag" in the appropriation of sociological research in the United States. Latin-American scholars are only beginning to take advantage of the contributions of our contemporary sociologists. This lag is partly due to a predisposition to look to Europe; partly due to the assiduous cultivation of Latin America by European countries; and partly due to our own failure to seek the coöperation of our Latin-American colleagues. It is a pleasure to report that this condition is currently being corrected through different phases of the Inter-American program, one small item of special relevance being the appointment by the American Sociological Society of a standing Committee on Relations with Latin-American Sociologists.

Another characteristic of contemporary sociology in Latin America is a rather strongly negative reaction to positivism, a fact that has been noted by all observers. Because of the past to which they were reacting, Latin-American converts to positivism made of it not only a method and a point of view but also a "religion." As Crawford puts it: "Their position toward Positivism is nearly always an important part of their thought, difficult for us to grasp because our thought is so bounded by Positivism that only a few of us have glimpsed the possibility of any other attitude, and also because 'positivist' and its opposites have become epithets inci-

dental to a combat situation and often unfair to the shades of thought of an individual."[9]

This reaction roots in an unwillingness to have human personality treated as if it were a mere cog in the machinery of the universe and in an insistence that the science in which personality plays a part be treated differently from those where it is absent. As such, anti-positivism usually takes the form of a neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian revival. Here again it is not surprising to note that this development in Latin America is paralleled elsewhere.

Passing mention must also be made of the fact that there is a strong emphasis on "applied sociology" in Latin America, much of the interest dating from the turn of the century and being especially marked in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, and Uruguay. Closely related to this trend is the continued emphasis on a "nationalistic sociology," a feature which Bernard, among others, has noted as still dominant and which he predicts will continue to be so for some time.

Space simply does not permit even a roll call of the men who have carried on the work of the sociological movement during this period. Such a list would be long and studded with the names of contributors whose work compares favorably with that being done anywhere. The easy way to avoid difficulties on this score would be to mention no names. But, even at the risk of being guilty of gross oversights, it is imperative that attention be called to certain outstanding representatives.

For Argentina, Ernesto Quesada, Ricardo Levene, Juan Agustín García Enrique Martínez Paz, Raúl Orgaz, and Alfredo Poviña stand out.

For Brazil: Pontes de Miranda, Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Fernando de Azevedo, Oliveira Viana, Arturo Ramos, Emilio Willems, Djacir Menezes, Pinto Ferreira, Mario Lins, Gilberto Freyre, and Donald Pierson.

For Chile: Agustín Venturino.

For Mexico: Antonio Caso, Daniel Cosío Villegas, Samuel Ramos, and Lucio Mendieta y Núñez.

For Peru: Mariano H. Cornejo, Francisco García Calderón, and Roberto MacLean y Estenós.

In addition to the foregoing, two groups deserve special mention. One group is composed of the Spanish refugee scholars now resident in Latin America. In the field of sociology and within the limitations of my information, the work of José Medina Echavarría and Luis Recasens Siches, both living in Mexico, is exceptionally noteworthy. The other group is composed of the devotees of "mathematical sociology" to be found in Brazil. Nothing has been more stimulating to the writer than the discovery of the work of such men as Pontes de Miranda, Djacir Menezes, Pinto Ferreira, and Mario Lins. Closely akin to the group led by George Lundberg in this country, widely read and thoroughly abreast of developments

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

in theoretical sociology, these men are working on the very frontiers of sociological research and represent a remarkable contribution by Latin-American scholarship.

One final word will serve to bring to a close this description of the modern period. Now firmly established as an academic discipline, sociology is beginning to develop the auxiliary equipment essential to the furtherance of the movement. Good journals are published throughout the continent, usually by the universities. Among these *La Revista Mexicana de Sociología,* ably edited by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, and *Sociología,* the Brazilian journal under the direction of Emilio Willems and Roman Barreto, are particularly outstanding. Research organizations and publishing media are also beginning to function. Especially meritorious is the publishing program of the Fondo de Cultura Ecónomica of Mexico City and the research program of the Centro de Estudios Sociales of the Colegio de Mexico, also in Mexico City.

I should like to conclude this sketchy survey of the status of sociology in Latin America with a few remarks regarding the basic purpose of the sociological movement. In times like these we would do well to remind ourselves that science is the only adjustment technique yet devised by man which can show a record of consistent success. Therefore, it would seem justifiable to conclude that such hope for the future as there may be resides in our willingness to extend rather than restrict its use. The only alternative to science is magic, and a return to magic is no solution for any of the staggering problems which confront us.

In a recent article under the title "The Ordeal of the Social Sciences," Dr. C. E. Ayres has convincingly argued that "the rejection and elimination of science as a whole, natural as well as social, and a return to a sort of medieval *status quo ante,* is no longer possible. Western civilization is too fully committed to natural science to be able any longer to elect such an alternative. . . . It is too late to turn the clock back to the thirteenth century, or more safely to the tenth."[10]

I agree, and it is for this reason that I regret the somewhat widespread tendency to reject the so-called "positivistic" undergirdings of sociology in favor of a revival of the proposition that human behavior is not amenable to the use of scientific method. Such a position does represent the effort to turn the clock back and, as Ayres remarks, is imposed not by the opacity of the phenomena but by the tenacity of myth—the myth that social science fails to take account of various matters of prime human significance such as values, mind, novelty and the like. Whatever else is true, I am certain that the problem of man's successful adjustment to the world in which he finds himself is not to be solved by refusing to submit human behavior to scientific scrutiny. The reverse is true if the record means anything. Hope lies in the direction marked out by the history of

[10] *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly,* Vol. XXV, No. 4, pp. 246–57.

the effort to build the science of human behavior. And here least of all need we be guilty of the deepest of all infidelity, fear lest the truth be had. Here most of all do we need the kind of education that President Harry Gideonse had in mind when he wrote: "Education at its best—like religion at its best—is always mankind on its knees in a sacred dedication to things as they might be in contrast to things as they are."

Robert S. Lynd has well-expressed my own convictions in these words:

> It is the responsibility of a science that recognizes human values as a part of its data to help search out the content and modes of expression of such shared loyalties. . . . If social science turns aside from this task, the way ahead will be a prolonged series of blank emergencies. . . . With such research and planning, we may yet make real the claims of freedom and opportunity in America.[11]

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[11] *Knowledge For What*, pp. 239 and 250.

TRENDS IN CENTRAL-AMERICAN LITERATURE

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When one considers the number of revolutions in Central America, the despotic rule of the dictators there, the comparative lack of a reading public, and the mercilessness with which writers opposed to the party in power have been suppressed, he is inclined to take for granted that no literature worthy of the name has been produced in Central America.[1] That this supposition is by no means confined to the ordinary reading public is easily proved. Alfred Coester, in his *Literary History of Spanish America,* devotes but six pages to Central America in his discussion of its literature, a discussion for the most part sketchy, being based on Menéndez y Pelayo's work. The great Spaniard is open to censure himself for his judgments which have been passed on by others without criticism. Modern criticism has so completely swallowed the dictum that a literature must reflect the social, political, and economic condition of its origins that the academic world has shunned Central America in the mistaken belief that no region so torn by civil strife could produce anything worth reading. Yet the opposite is true, at least as far as Central America is concerned. An interesting comment by a Spanish American in this regard is that of Francisco García Calderón:

> He who knows Spanish America only by its imperfect social framework, its civil wars, and its persistent barbarism sees only the outer tumult; there is a strange divorce between its turbulent politics and its refined art. If ever Taine's theory of the inevitable correspondence between art and its environment was at fault, it is in respect of these turbulent democracies which produce writers whose literary style is so precious, such refined poets and analysts.[2]

As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,[3] we are inclined to take ourselves a little more seriously than we do our neighbors because our immense wealth and power make themselves felt throughout the world. We pride ourselves on being foresighted enough to propose Union now, but the schemes for a New World League of Nations was proposed by the framers of the Independence movement in Central America in 1821, just a hundred and twenty years earlier than the plans proposed by Clarence Streit or Ely Culbertson. Men like Barrundia, Cecilio del Valle, and Alejandro Marure were vigorous thinkers as their writings

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[1] "La literatura centro-americana es, por desgracia, poco conocida no solo en Europa sino hasta en las otras repúblicas de orígen latino. No ha habido empeño en popularizar los nombres de nuestros sabios y en dar a conocer a nuestros literatos. Nombres como Valle, Laureynaga, Barrundia, Molina y tantos otros que han figurado en la América-Central, no han alcanzado la extendida fama que merecen." Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *Literatura Americana,* p. 254.

[2] *Latin America,* pp. 269–70.

[3] *Hispania,* May, 1944.

prove, but not many of our people have read them. For that matter, neither have the Spanish Americans. Relative unimportance of the region in which they lived has prevented popular knowledge of the wisdom and prescience of those patriots. Geographical smallness does not necessarily indicate littleness of mind; the literary figures of Central America have been few, but they have been select.

Anyone acquainted with the tremendous number of books which comes from our presses in a year must be startled at the paucity of books in Central America. Deterrents such as the prohibitive costs and lack of anything approaching a reading public have been cited as reasons for the lack of books. There are other reasons too, such as the fact that the newspaper is to Central America what our leading magazines are to us. In fact, there is nowhere in Central America a magazine of the caliber of the *Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, The Kenyon Review,* or even the *Saturady Evening Post* or *Cosmopolitan.* Weekly news magazines on the style of *Time* or *News Week* are unknown, nor can one find anything resembling the *Nation* or the *New Republic.* The newspaper continues to be the ordinary citizen's library as well as news headquarters. Almost invariably literary works that one sees in shop windows have appeared in newspapers long before their advent in book form.

Journalism has always been close to literary art in Central America. Every paper has a literary page where most of the literature, either poetry or prose, is first printed. If popular, the work of beginning writers is later printed in pamphlets or in cheap *folletos.* As one glances through old newspapers, he is struck by the frequent announcements of literary works to be published by editors who hoped to stimulate circulation through such advertisements. Many of José Milla's novels and collections of *costumbrista* tales were issued as premiums by Mark Kelly when he first launched his journalistic career in Guatemala in 1880 with *El Diario de Centro América* because Kelly knew that the novelist's popularity would attract subscribers to the newspaper.

If the investigator wishes to find a story or a novel printed serially, he must search in many out-of-the-way places for it, because libraries do not have complete editions of the periodicals, and the authors have long since lost their copies. A magazine or newspaper may print but one issue and then fold up for lack of funds. Between 1880 and 1900 more than 100 newspapers, periodicals, and literary journals were published at one time or another in Guatemala. Sometimes the local dictator closed papers unfriendly to his regime, and this was not seldom. Only in the field of history or politics did writers have little trouble finding some one to print their works. This was true largely because politicians make themselves known by means of their writings, and oratory and writing are essentials in Central-American politics. The pen is often mightier than the sword even in that land of revolutions, although the generals have had much greater success of late years.

Three genres stand out as preëminent in Central-American prose writing: history, the short story or *cuento*, as it is called there, and of late years, the novel. The *cuento* is anything in prose that resembles a story and technically is not what passes for a short story with us because of its lack of plot, central characters, and form. It is generally folkloristic in background, or it may deal with Indian legends. The latter is particularly true of Guatemalan writers. The *costumbrista* tale was popular in Central America long after its vogue died away in Spain; it was replaced by the *cuento* or short story. It must be said, however, that many of the *cuentos* are very poor, principally because of loosely constructed plots as well as because of the extreme local nature of the story. What pretended to be a folk tale generally turned out to be nothing but a rehash of a tale already old elsewhere. Nevertheless, after the first World War there was a resurgence of the *cuento* which resulted in some notable literary productions in Costa Rica, Salvador, and especially in Guatemala, with the overthrow of the dictator Estrada Cabrera.

Until the past few years, the novel was seldom attempted, chiefly because of the lack of means on the part of the writers or because of lack of talent. José Milla (1822–82) is the only novelist of note up to 1900, and barring present-day novelists in Costa Rica, unsurpassed by any novelist since.

There has always been an abundance of good historians, even from colonial times when such writers as Fuentes y Guzmán, Remesal, Juárez, and later Milla, the novelist, set down their accounts of the early days of the Capitanía General. Greatest of all was Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who spent his last days in what is today Guatemala writing his memoirs which were later published in Spain. Among contemporary historians can be mentioned Pedro Pérez Valenzuela of Guatemala; Sofonías Salvatierra, and Salvador Mendieta of Nicaragua; Rómulo Durón of Honduras, and Alonso Reyes Guerra of El Salvador; and Ricardo Fernández Guardia of Costa Rica.

This paper will concern itself only with those writers of the novel or short story who seem to have achieved permanence. Because the break with the past is most clearly defined in Guatemala, I shall begin with her writers.

The year 1920 is a memorable one for Guatemala in politics and literature. The twenty-two-year reign of Estrada Cabrera ended in revolution which was led in great part by the students of the University. The change brought about by the revolution was so great that a whole generation was named after it. As César Brañas remarks:

> . . . la denominación, al parecer arbitraria, de generación de 1920, obedece a dos hechos históricos: llegan y se defienden en América las ideas revolucionarias de postguerra; cae Estrada Cabrera.[4]

[4]César Brañas, *El Imparcial*, Oct. 26, 1928.

Wyld Ospina, differing with most observers, disclaims any great change in politics after 1920, but does admit that in literature a decided change is evident:

> La conmoción político-social de 1920, cuando el gobierno de Estrada Cabrera fué derrocado, habría de abatir la vela latina de nuestro bergantín literario con nortes frescos e improvistos. Y es curioso observar que, en lo político la revolución del año 20 fué casi nula, en el arte de escribir marcó el aparecimiento de una nueva generación de literatos, vibrante de briosos entusiasmos.[5]

The suppression of all public opinion had been so complete that not a word of criticism against the government had been permitted. But university students, disturbed profoundly by the European war, nurtured on the ideas of liberty and equality, and versed in the literature of *Indo-américa* with its emphasis on a demand for an America free from all tyrants whether economic or political, finally banded together in the face of armed opposition to put an end to a dictatorship that has few of any equals in Spanish-American history.

The reaction among young writers was tremendous; poets sprang up over night to write glowing verses on freedom and love of country; manifestos outlining a new constitution in government were hastily written; and the old dream of Morazán and Barrios, the Federation of Central America, was again brought forward as a rallying cry.

For a time, the enthusiasm of Guatemalans over the proposal of a Federation almost won over the other Central-American republics, but Costa Rica, still acclaimed by historians as the only democracy of the five republics, refused to join the union, so that the *Unionistas* accomplished little, and their adherents drifted back to political indifference. With them faded the hopes of a nation bent on recapturing the past glory; only a few were left to carry on in the realm of ideas.

The reaction among the literary generation was as great as that among the political generation; indeed, it is impossible to divide the political revolutions into political groups without taking into account the writers among the revolutionists, because nearly all Spanish-American revolutions have been initiated by literary men or by journalists.

The spokesmen for the new literary generation founded three journals in which appeared the literary manifestos and the designs for a new literature. *Los Ensayos,* founded in July, 1920, announced

> el espíritu de esta revista a todos los guatemaltecos que están de acuerdo con nosotros—en nuestro afán de renovar; en nuestro sentimiento contrario a los partidos conservador y liberal; en nuestra aversión a la violencia; en nuestro respeto a la dignidad y vida humana; en nuestro nacionalismo en el concepto que le peligro yanqui da a esta palabra en Hispano-América; en nuestra falta de fe en la oratoria; en nuestra consciencia de que ya sólo la juventud mediante la acción es capaz de salvar al país.[6]

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[5]Wyld Ospina, *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional,* May, 1934. p. 296.

[6]*Los Ensayos,* No. 1, July, 1920, p. 1.

Enthusiasm was at fever pitch among the young writers, and much poetry was written. The change in poetic styles was marked, most poets going over to the *vanguardista* fashion or to others of the numerous styles or fads. Out of the mass of literary productions some poems are still worth reading, but, as one would suspect, much of the work was destined to perish almost as soon as written. After 1922, most of the young men who had written poetry retired from the scene. The leaders of the new movement proved to be the best writers, and they have continued their work to date.

One distinctive feature of the revolution of 1920 was the impetus given to sociological studies. Formerly there had been no scientific attempts made toward an evaluation of contemporary society nor had researches been made to discover just what elements composed the social structure. Historians had been numerous in Guatemala, but their works were all in the traditional manner of dates and battles without too close a scrutiny of source material. After 1920, however, social studies were initiated in a scientific manner in order to bring some sort of system to the solution of a perplexing problem. Among the studies made were the following: *Ensayo sobre sociología guatemalteca* by José García Granados, 1927; *El problema social del indio* by Miguel Angel Asturias, 1923; *Consideraciones sobre problemas político-sociales de Guatemala* by Alfonso Orantes, 1927; *Nacionalismo guatemalteco* by José Luis Balcárcel, 1927; *Ensayo de sociología guatemalteca* by Jorge del Valle Matheu, 1932. In 1929, Wyld Ospina published his study of dictatorships in Guatemala: *El autócrata.* Of the above writers, Alfonso Orantes, Miguel Asturias and Wyld Ospina are poets and short story writers as well as sociologists and have utilized knowledge of Indian lore to good advantage in the short story.

Together with an interest in their country's history went a like interest in its peoples, so that poets and short story writers went to indigenous sources for literary material. Nothing so characterized the generation of 1920 as the theme of its literature—*el indio.* This characteristic is especially noticeable among the short story writers. Poets, for the most part, joined the new stylists such as Huidobro, García Lorca, and Pedro Salinas in Spanish, or went over to the French poets, such as Laforgue, or Jean Cocteau for inspiration, although Juan Ramón Jiménez, Villaespesa, Herrera y Reissig continued to attract Guatemalans. It is interesting that the French poets that have appealed to present-day English and American poets like T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, G. Day Lewis, and W. H. Auden have likewise attracted Guatemalan poets. Neither Pound nor Eliot, however, are read much in Guatemala.

The most important writers of the generation of 1920 are the authors of short stories, *crónicos* and *leyendas.* Indigenous themes appear in all their stories; nationalism is the keynote of this generation, because the Indian is such a part of Guatemalan life that his art has been taken over by Guatemalans who participate actively in it. The writers have

gone to the Indian for literary themes, not because the themes themselves are exotic, but because the poets and short story writers have recognized that Indian art is a part of their life. It can be stated as a fact that part of Guatemalan literature is functional, just as Indian art is functional. It supplies a daily need. The Indian movement in literature in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Mexico is further proof of this statement.

Carlos Samayoa Chinchilla is the most famous of present-day Guatemalan short story writers. One of the most enthusiastic sponsors of the new movement of 1920, especially of that part which stressed the return to or intensification of the native theme in literature, he has assiduously adhered to studies of the vernacular, of Indian mythology, and psychology. He is well equipped for his task because he speaks some of the Indian languages; his studies, therefore, are authentic in Indian background.

For American readers Chinchilla's stories will have more interest than will stories by almost any other Guatemalan writer because of their excellent plots. Generally speaking, plot structure is weak in Guatemalan fiction so that Chinchilla seems doubly excellent for his fine stories.

Chincilla's style is easy to follow. *Madre Milpa, Cuatro suertes,* and *Casa de la muerta* are three collections of stories, tales, and legends by this writer. The prose of Chinchilla is distinguished by its simplicity. There are no imaginative or highly suggestive words such as there are in Asturias's legends. Chinchilla proceeds with slow, matter-of-fact sentences, most of them short, but he manages by his very simplicity to create suspense and foreboding in his readers nonetheless. There are no Indian problems in the works of this writer such as are discussed in the works of Icaza or López y Fuentes. The poletariat has no interest for Chinchilla; but the Indian problem in Guatemala is far different from that of either Ecuador or Mexico.

Miguel Angel Asturias was the first of the contemporary writers to try his hand at the *leyenda* with a book called *Leyendas de Guatemala* (1930). His *leyendas* are based on folk tales which have their base in the *Popul-Buj,* the so-called Bible of the Maya-Quiché Indians. Asturias writes a brilliant prose filled with striking metaphors and phrases. As he does in poetry, Asturias startles his reader with his extraordinary linguistic ability in prose.

Roberta Quintana is less well-known than his rivals in prose, but he is worthy of a place beside them, although his literary output is small by comparison. *Mal Agüero* is a book of Indian tales or stories which reflect the Indian in relation to a Spanish or white background. Some of the stories approach in theme the episodes of *Huasipungo,* but there is nothing repulsive about them. The prose of Quintana is rough, but now and again brilliant metaphors light up his pages.

Rosendo Santacruz also stands out as a teller of tales. *Tierras de lumbre* is *vanguardista* in theme and style. Santacruz resembles Icaza

in his love for robust themes and plain language, but none of his stories repel the reader.

In addition to the writers mentioned, two others stand out in the field of criticism: David Vela and César Brañas. Vela is a prolific writer with an immense range of subject matter. He has written books on law, history, and Indian mythology, and even has a fair novel to his credit. His latest and most interesting literary work from our standpoint is his history of Guatemalan literature: *Literatura guatemalteca.* Vela is a very fine writer with an exceptional freedom from bias. His logical mind appears more French than Spanish and exhibits a trait which seems peculiar to the Guatemalan intellect.

César Brañas is better known as a poet, but he was among the first to turn to criticism and was the guiding light among the young men of the generation of 1920. His style too is very straightforward, again resembling the French characteristic mentioned above. Brañas is a master of style in the short story and poetry.

It would seem that a country which has produced some very fine writers of the short story would have also given the world at least a few accomplished novelists; but such a supposition proves to be unwarranted in Guatemala; José Milla has already been mentioned as having been the only genuine novelist in Central America up to the present time. Only three writers can be said to be novelists, and none has proved himself as skilful as Milla in plot construction or dialogue or the ability to tell a good story. These three novelists are Rafael Arévalo Martínez, Flavio Herrera, and Carlos Wyld Ospina.

Arévalo Martínez is the first in time as well as first in reputation, for he has produced a solid body of literature over a period of twenty-five years of writing; accordingly, he offers an opportunity for a study of the novel, although from many points of view his novels are not novels at all.

The first story to bring this Guatemalan a literary reputation beyond his own borders was *El hombre que parecía un caballo.* Although called a novel, this story is really a short novelette. It is a character study of a man whose psychological processes are translated into actions that resemble those of a horse. Because there is no plot, the story depends for its interest on the curiosity aroused in the reader by the novel idea of a man who acts like a horse. Animal instincts or emotions are translated into animal acts, and Sr. Aretal, hero of the story, cavorts and snorts according to the nervous stimulus received. But there is also a moral as there is in all Arévalo Martínez' works. Goodness is reflected in actions of like nature, and man is bound by the natural law plus Christian doctrine to follow the middle way or pay for his indiscretions. Sr. Aretal has no moral sense and wanders away into a sort of limbo which the author does not name.

Aside from the psychologic interest in the novel, the reader is impressed by the style of the writer, which is notable in Spanish America

where florid phrasing is common. Arévalo Martínez writes in simple sentences that are easy to read; pertinent words are italicized or repeated; the vocabulary is very refined and is the distinctive feature of the Guatemalan's best work. Darío's influence is especially marked in it. As a pioneer in stories of this nature embracing the fanciful and psychoanalysis, Arévalo Martínez remains a great writer among the modernists. Other stories in the psycho-zoological series are: *El trovador colombiano, El señor Monitot, La signatura de la esfinge, El hechizado, Nuestra señora de los locos* and *Las fieras del trópico.*

Two late novels by the same author deviate somewhat from the model laid down before. *El mundo de las maharachías* is another fantasy based on the author's practice in and study of theosophy, but it is by no means an easy story to read, nor can its interest be said to be universal. The second novel, *El viaje a Ipanda* is an attempt at utopia in a world of chaos. Democracy is presented as the last human resort toward an international understanding. The book is patently a commentary on the present war and its causes. Totalitarian states are pitted against the democracies. Eventually the democracies are doomed to failure because of man's innate tendency toward evil. A modified dictatorship seems to be Arévalo Martínez's ideal state. He loves democracy but fears that it is unworkable.

One of the best features of the author's new world is its educational system. Everyone must attend school until he is fifteen years old; from fifteen to twenty everyone must work at some task for which he is especially fitted; those doing unpleasant tasks receive the highest remuneration; bright pupils are given the opportunity to continue their studies even though the student may be poor and without money. In such a case the state stands the cost of the student's education; there must be no discrimination between rich and poor.

But in spite of the optimism voiced by the author at the outset of his novel, the reader feels that Arévalo Martínez has no faith in humanity; he sets up an ideal state, but he does not believe that it will last.

In calling to mind the import of this writer to the world of letters one is impressed by the fact that this Guatemalan posits his arguments on ethical grounds or principles. He is, therefore, entitled to be heard, but his fame in Spanish America will not be shared by the Anglo-Saxon world because of his limitations in plot and subject matter.

To indicate the esteem in which Arévalo Martínez is held by the Spanish-American world, I quote the following from Professor Arturo Torres Ríoseco:

> Tomando en cuenta sólo la sensibilidad y el poder de adivinación estética me atrevería a decir que Arévalo Martínez es el escritor mejor dotado de nuestro continente; no el más logrado, sin embargo; debido a que su neurastenia crónica le ha impedido dedicarse de lleno a la literatura . . . Arévalo Martínez es ante todo poeta y por lo tanto purísimo intérprete de la belleza real y metafísica; su sensibilidad, fina como una cuerda de violín, vibra al menor roce de los impulsos internos e externos; su intuición

le hace ver significados ocultos en los gestos, en las palabras, en los movimientos de los seres a los cuales ve con esa enorme simpatía de los espíritus que han trepado a las cumbres del Cristianismo.[7]

One other work, however, deserves mention: *Una Vida.* This is an autobiographical tale of the author's early years at school and is a very touching revelation of the workings of a child's mind. The resemblance to Anatole France's *Le livre de mon ami* is marked, but the Guatemalan's work can stand comparison without damage.

The second of Guatemala's contemporary novelists is Flavio Herrera, author of some six novels, only two of which I shall consider here: *El tigre,* 1931, and *La tempestad,* 1935.

El tigre was instantly hailed as a true member of the *novela americana,* worthy to stand beside such novels as *La vorágine* and *Doña Bárbara,* as a novel of the American scene. There is practically no plot; the author merely presents a scenario which would serve as an excellent guide for making a moving picture, in which a series of sketches tells the story in lightning-like flashes.

El tigre is a novel of the jungle, its people, both red and white, its diseases, its lusts, its color. There are two protagonists: Fernando, a human tiger who commits rape and murder, and a jungle tiger which pounces on the unwary and slays them in the dark. Both are shadowy creatures, the man appearing but four times in the course of the novel, each time in a crime of violence, whereas the jungle tiger never appears until the very last scene when he claws his way through a hemp net, his eyes blazing, his mouth filled with henequen fiber. Fernando, the human tiger, shoots Luis, the medical-student-hero, in the back just as the jungle cat eludes his pursuers, and both anti-heroes fade from the picture, swallowed up by the jungle, while Luis is stretched out on the ground with blood oozing down his shirt.

If the novel has a purpose, it may be said to be that of showing the uninitiated how powerful the jungle is and how easily men are warped by it. Moral law goes overboard because nature is stronger than man.

La tempestad is a story of the coffee country wherein is presented the struggle of the small planter to compete with the large landholders. The story is held together by a plot which is much better than that of *El tigre.* It has not been pointed out in criticism of the novel that the heroine of *La tempestad* is much like Doña Bárbara herself. Leonarda is an old woman, *una india* (a term she hates) whose resentment against the whites has embittered her so much that all her energies are bent in seeking revenge, but paradoxically enough, she is forced to capitulate when her worthless son, whom she has tried to marry into a good family, reveals that he is the father of the girl's illegitimate child. Leonarda tries all in her power to prevent the marriage she so ardently desired before, even attempting to have the child sent away from the country,

[7] *Novelistas contemporáneos de América,* p. 420.

but her lawyer contrives a scheme to outwit the old woman whereby her motherly instinct is prevailed upon to accept the child as her son.

La tempestad is a regional novel. Herrera has succeeded in packing into it glimpses of rural Guatemalan life, rural hotels, *finqueros,* and the whole coffee industry. The chapter *La epopeya del café* voices the hopes and fears of the planter, besides giving the reader a detailed account of the land shark who has caused untold misery among small owners.

Both novels here discussed have as their basis the explanation of the jungle or wilderness and its effects on man. They are essentially novels of struggle, the first a moral one, the second both moral and physical. They are of more local interest than are the novels of Arévalo Martínez, but like the novels of the latter they are full of scintillating passages, not to say prose poems.

Carlos Wyld Ospina is the third of the Guatemalan novelists, although his fame rests on a single novel: *La gringa.*[8] This novel is a psychological study of a European girl, modern, masculine, self-supporting, man-hating or at least man-ignoring, who is at last conquered by a cave man type of Spanish American who believes that women should be dominated by men and kept in the home. After many clashes of will and temperament, the protagonists are united only to separate at last when the girl goes home to bury her father. The reader is left to doubt whether the heroine will ever return but is almost certain that she will not.

The novel is extremely well written, and is marred only by the author's penchant for polemics. The arrogance of the author, his scorn for American ways, his distrust of all feminine virtue, make his story unsympathetic, but its bold powerful language is of keen interest. For the modern reader Wyld Ospina has more appeal than has Arévalo Martínez, perhaps because he talks a vital language of the here and now. His style is vigorous as well as polished and select, and to my mind, one of the best that Spanish America can offer.

La gringa like *El tigre* is a jungle or tropical novel, but the tropics in Wyld Ospina's novel are good as well as bad. The social outlook of Wyld Ospina is universal rather than local which gives his novel broader scope. Wyld Ospina is a very powerful writer on social themes as his long essay *El autócrata* proves, and his arguments are telling although the writer exasperates his readers often by his cantankerous spirit, but there can be no doubt that Wyld Ospina is as able a writer as Spanish America can offer at the present time.

Honduras is the least developed of any of the Central American republics either intellectually or economically, although some of the best minds of Middle America have come from that hapless nation. The old story of entrenched wealth and rigid control of intellectual development

[8]For a detailed analysis of this work see *Revista Iberoamericana,* **May, 1943.**

by the Church is only too apparent here. Yet some literary talent came to light in spite of the many obstacles.

Rómulo E. Durón, already cited as a historian, is also the only literary historian to date, his *Honduras literaria* being both a history of men and letters. Juan Ramón Molinas, a contemporary of Durón, is still the best poet of Honduras, and he was also notable for a very fine prose style. Arturo Mejía Nieto is probably the best short story writer to come out of Honduras. His stories are based on folklore or on the Indian and describe the miserable state of the poor. A skillful weaver of fact and fancy, Mejía Nieto deserves to be better known, for his stories exhibit considerable art. As many another Central American before him, he abandoned his native hearth for more profitable and healthful lands and now resides in Buenos Aires.

Probably the best known, although by no means the best writer, is Argentina Díaz Lozano, winner of the non-fiction prize in the second Latin-American literary prize competition conducted by Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1944. Her book, *Enriqueta y Yo* is a biographical account of her childhood years spent wandering with her mother from one small Honduran town to another as her mother taught school to keep them both from the poorhouse. As a picture of village life in Honduras, the book has merit not devoid of a certain nostalgic charm. The author is frank in her condemnation of "big business" as represented by the United Fruit Company, as well as of the unscrupulous local caciques who have sold themselves to the devil for money. The book could have been much more bitter had the author chosen to reveal certain truths, but her husband is now in prison because he was bold enough to criticize the President in public. Small wonder, then, that literature is a precarious occupation in Honduras.

El Salvador has many poets but a scarcity of good prose writers. Francisco A. Gavidia, grand old man of Salvadoran letters and friend of Rubén Darío, Blanco Fombona, and others, is still alive but no longer a figure in contemporary literature. Salvador Salazar Arrué, better known as Salarrué, is a poet and short story writer, who now devotes his time to painting as a more lucrative profession. Among the first in his nation to turn to the indigenous themes, he has written some five collections of short stories among which *Cuentos de barro* is the most notable. *Eso y más,* his latest collection (1940), is a miscellany of stories dating from his first ventures into literature as well as from his latest efforts at literary composition. Salarrué has cultivated the tale of fantasy, for his mystic nature lends itself readily to the supernatural. As a practicing theosophist from adolescent years, he even refused to wear leather shoes and went barefoot or wore rope sandals. His painting is as bizarre as are some of his stories, but they have brought him material wealth in addition to fame. Salarrué enjoys a good reputation among Central Americans both as a poet and *cuentista.*

Nicaragua still boasts of the greatest literary figure in modern Spanish and Spanish-American literature, Rubén Darío, but aside from that giant, the literary field is strangely barren. There have been other poets there, as there are today, but none of Darío's stature. In the realm of the short story and novel, Nicaragua has nothing to match Guatemala or Costa Rica. There is, however, one novelist who deserves attention although most of his readers consider him to be Mexican because of his long residence in the neighboring republic, as well as for his literary activity there. He is Hernán Robleto, writer and journalist of note.

His literary output has been steady although much of his work has been non-fiction. One novel deserves mention: *Sangre en el trópico.* This is a story of American intervention in Nicaragua in 1924, when the Marines were stationed at various places throughout the country. Robleto prefaces the book with this sentence: "This is not a book of hate although there are motives enough for it."

The chief concern of the novelist is to point out the ruthless manner in which "big business" represented by United States capital takes over a foreign people by economic infiltration. Worse still in his eyes are the local politicians and big landholders who insisted on intervention to save their estates. Toward the Marines the author has no personal hate although neither does he have much love or admiration. What he asks is: Whom are they fighting?

> A veinte o treinta hombres que marcharan con la bandera de los Estados Unidos desplegada, no podrían hacerle frente doscientos nativos. No pasaba por la imaginación de los soldados extranjeros la realidad. Ellos no eran en sí mismo una fuerza apreciable. La fuerza estaba detrás, con los recursos económicos que dominan el Mundo.[9]

The familiar complaint of vile treatment toward native labor while foreigners are pampered is present here too. Love of liberty, the desire of a decent home, a decent living for one's children are also themes. The novel closes on a pleasant note when a Marine lieutenant marries a Nicaraguan girl after he realizes the enemy is not his enemy but human like himself.

Hernán Robleto is an able writer, and his novel shows promise. Unfortunately, the business of making a living is a difficult one in Nicaragua, and Robleto is by now publishing a newspaper of his own. When I visited him in August, 1943, he was publishing a small news magazine on the order of *Time*, but, of course, much less pretentious. Nevertheless, as a news digest, it was a creditable weekly.

Costa Rica has long been celebrated for her liberalism in ideas, so that it is but natural to expect literature that could be called universal. This country has gone farther on the road to democracy than any of her neighboring republics; she has better schools, a fair-sized middle class, and her economic status is better than that of her sister states. The

[9] P. 102.

fact that she has a reading public has done more to promote good writing than almost any other single cause; but of course it must be remembered that this reading public was made possible by the institutions just mentioned.

Costa Rica is strong in all genres, but especially in the *cuento* and novel. In fact, she far out-distances the other republics in this literary form. Folklore and indigenous themes make up the bulk of the writing in the short story, although the folkloristic bent is not so strong here as it is among the Guatemalans. The novelists have woven in bits of local color on the order of the *costumbrista* tale, but the striking quality of their work is their modern critical attitude toward society, a quality almost altogether lacking among the novelists of Guatemala.

Best known among the short story writers of Costa Rica is Fernández Guardia, whose *Cuentos ticos* have gone through many editions as well as an English translation. There can be little question that he is the best writer that his country has produced. As a story teller he can rank with any in Spanish America because of his skill at narrative and character delineation.

Carmen Lyra has also written some very excellent stories, especially those dealing with folklore and legend. One collection of tales, *Cuentos de mi Tía Panchita,* has become a classic in Central America. Carmen Lyra writes a very simple prose filled with beautiful imagery which makes her stories seem as if they had come from some distant past. No one in Costa Rica is more read or esteemed.

Three other writers of the folklore tale or legend should be mentioned: Víctor Lizano h., author of *Leyendas de Costa Rica;* María de Noguera, rival in popularity of Carmen Lyra, and author of *Cuentos viejos;* and Gonzalo Chacón Trejos, author of *Tradiciones costarricenses.* The writers mentioned are worthy rivals of their Guatemalan contemporaries.

The Costa Rican novelists are all young men, which probably accounts for their critical attitudes and vigorous, unpolished writing. Their chief interest is society, especially that represented by the down-trodden in the slums of the capital or in the jungles of the banana country. One ex ception is José Marín Cañas, whose novel, *El infierno verde,* is a compact, well-told story written in a nicely cadenced prose.

El infierno verde was published in Madrid in 1935. It brought the author instant fame not only in his home land but also throughout Spanish America. It is a story of the Gran Chaco war, although the author had never seen the Chaco. Yet the descriptions of the land are so vivid that at first critics refused to believe that a Central American had written it, or if he had, they believed that he must have been extremely well acquainted with the country he describes.

Although the novel pictures the horror of war in gruesome details, its principal interest is development of the main character, a boy, unnamed like the boy in Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage.* Many characters

take part in the story, but only two are named: a Guaraní Indian, Nitsuga, and Rodríguez, both friends and companions of the boy.

The Chaco itself is as much a character in the book as are the human characters; the terrible heat and dust are made to seem so real that the reader all but feels parched. Life becomes a nightmare in which the boy's friends disappear as if swallowed by the Chaco as indeed they were, and at last the boy wanders away to die of thirst still searching for his friends and water.

What makes this novel so remarkable is the constant forward thrust which motivates the story. There is no stopping anywhere for explanations; the boy is continually on the move as the armies are driven hither and yon, but his mind is constantly moving toward an invisible or undiscernible end. The senselessness of war, its total lack of glamor after bitter contact with it, the skeptical attitude of the boy as he fights for what he says is the Standard Oil Company, are vividly recounted in a style that is swift and sure. There are some very close parallels to the *Red Badge of Courage,* so close indeed as to warrant the belief that Marín Cañas must have read Crane's book. There are also some Joycian bits of writing, and there is one scene in miniature of the famous Walpurgis Night episode which closes Joyce's novel. In an article published in the *Nation,* April 26, 1941, Eduardo Mallea, himself an excellent writer, singles out *El infierno verde* as one of the best of all the Chaco novels.

Mamita Yunai, by Carlos Luis Fallas, is a novel of the banana country, filled with vivid pictures of the misery of the banana workers. Its ironic title is indicative of what the reader may suspect in a book devoted to the power exerted by the United Fruit Company.

The plot of this novel is discursive, but, nevertheless, held together by the main characters, four men whose only means of subsistence is their daily toil, for they are skilled only in the banana industry with no chance of bettering their lot, but in mortal fear that the Big Company may cast them aside at any moment because they are liberals and union men. Their proclivities as organizers make them feared as well as distrusted by the banana bosses who do not want to be troubled by labor agitation. As much a target for censure as the United Fruit Company are the local officials who commit all manner of crimes against their fellowcitizens in order to curry favor with the Banana Trust. The author is a socialist with even communistic leanings and would like to seize all wealth not owned within his native land.

Many *costumbrista* sketches are strung together to make a plot in the novel, but they are interesting tales which throw much light on local customs and living conditions. The style of this writer is not what one could call polished since much of the dialogue is in the dialect of both negroes and whites, the former trying to imitate Spanish sounds only to appear ridiculous, whereas the latter fare no better when trying their hand at English. Style, however, has no place in a novel of this kind because what we are interested in is the social scene and its import to humanity. The

conclusion drawn is pessimistic for there can be no real improvement among the peons until their economic status is improved and their self-respect and dignity restored, but the author sees no prospect for such improvement. The only solace of the poor is rum.

The third novelist among the Costa Ricans is Fabián Dobles—to my mind, the best of all because the breadth of his mental horizon passes beyond the local setting of his story to include universality. The title of his first book points up the story: *Ese que llaman pueblo.* Here, also, is a novel of the proletariat, of slums, of debauchery and sloth, all woven into an intricate pattern to form a good plot, although the manner in which the story unfolds is at times confusing.

Juan Manuel is in love with Rosalía but in order to win her hand has to tramp off to the banana country to earn enough to buy a piece of land. When he comes back, he finds out that Rosalía has a new lover, or at least people give him that impression. Disillusioned, he starts off on a spree on which he meets a very fine character named Reyes, and through Reyes he becomes educated in the ways of the world. After many pages of writing reminiscent of Zola, the story closes on a ray of hope, for Juan Manuel, now broken and in debt, renews his love for Rosalía who decides that he is worth rescuing.

Reading this story presents some difficulty because of the abundance of dialect and local idiom, but once this obstacle is overcome, the story holds one's interest. Each chapter unfolds from the novel like a leaf from a head of cabbage, because each is interlocked by contingent circumstances. Although annoying, this system of story telling is effective, and there is no skipping around in the book without becoming hopelessly tangled in the story.

Fabián Dobles is an accomplished writer with more than ordinary ability at plot construction. His language is of the people, simple and direct and even ungrammatical as it should be. The author gets at the heart of things by straightforward tactics in which actions speak louder than words. The influence of Zola and Dostoievsky is unmistakable, both in subject matter and language. In fact, the novel is a combination of elements contained in *Germinal* and *The Possessed;* the brutal starkness of Zola is evident from start to finish, whereas the madness of everyone is also apparent. The world or better, society, according to Dobles, is possessed; mankind is rotten at the core; money rules in all things, and death and pestilence are the rule and not the exception. In language sometimes symbolic, but more often very modern in form, we follow the protagonist on his way through a world of sin until at last he pushes up through the muck to find a ray of hope. Such an ending does not appear to be out of place either; on the contrary, it follows with a naturalness that comes from dextrous handling of the plot.

In reviewing the literature of Central America, one can see readily enough that there are few good novelists there. Indeed, compared to the

great number that we have in our own country, the number is scarcely perceptible, but there are a few who deserve the name, and these I have presented. There are others with reputations in their homelands, but none of them are worth more than a most cursory perusal. The lack of anything like universality in theme or maturity prevents most novels from receiving more than a passing glance. The reason for this lack of good novels is not hard to discover, for when one remembers that Central-American society is still rural, that its urban life is hardly beyond the village stage of complexity, that at least 60 per cent of all the people cannot either read or write, one should not expect to find novels which command attention. Reflection as a mental process in the form of novel writing is not common in Central America; on the other hand, poetry is both popular and good since Central America has produced some very excellent poets; Julio Marchena of Costa Rica and Arévalo Martínez and Wyld Ospina are as good as can be found in Spanish America today. Their art is poetry, and their attempts at the novel have not been too successful.

If the scarcity of the novel is to be deplored, the theme taken by the young writers cannot be, for they have set out fearlessly on a modern crusade with modern ideas, and their attacks upon society are as sharp as those of Steinbeck, Hemmingway, or Erskine Caldwell. No one could call *Tobacco Road* a beautiful novel or even a well-written one, but *La gringa* by Wyld Ospina is a very well-written novel, even though it suffers from a poor plot. The same may be said of both *Mamita Yunai* and *Ese que llaman pueblo.* They have interest beyond the localness of their scenes, and their social significance is certainly as apparent as that of *The Grapes of Wrath* or *Tobacco Road.* There is nothing wrong with the thinking of either Fabián Dobles or Carlos Luis Fallas.

It may be interesting to note what the Central Americans think of us after a few years of assiduous cultivation by the State Department and the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. From press notices we are probably led to believe that all is a bed of roses concerning our neighbors' thoughts. A close-up of their written opinions is not so cheery. Wyld Ospina ridicules our inability to learn Spanish beyond a rough bush or kitchen Spanish. American imperialism is still a big bogey to him. "Big business" always wears an American head that will gobble everyone, especially the poor and unprotected. Even a local dictator as unscrupulous as the late President Ubico appears preferable, it would seem, perhaps because he is at least Guatemalan.

To Fabián Dobles the United Fruit Company is a blood sucker that enervates and vitiates the peons of Costa Rica. Because of its power through immense wealth, nothing the banana company can do is wrong; but not only is the company bad, its gringo employees are worse. They corrupt the local politicians through bribery and graft and are themselves the epitome of debauchery and lust. We call ourselves a democratic nation, but the Central Americans see little democracy in us.

Because the short story is concerned with minor incidents or crises in human affairs, it is not surprising to find a complete lack of social significance in literature of this kind. However, the stories on Indian life, especially those by Guatemalans, reveal a great deal about the Indian and his mode of life. It is in this genre that Guatemala is pre-eminent, for her population is at least two-thirds pure Indian, so that writers have a living laboratory from which to make daily observations for their works. There are, of course, many stories which purport to be authentic, but which in reality are not worth reading because of the author's lack of psychological insight or knowledge. The Indian theme has been so overworked in Guatemala that all critics there are loud in their condemnation of it. The writers mentioned are excellent writers and they are scholars as well as writers; their work has the ring of truth, but the social significance of the plight of the Indian is often glossed over because of dire consequences which would follow such expression of opinion.

As literary artists whose main purpose is the manipulation of language, the Guatemalans are clearly superior to any in Central America. Their language is much more virile at the same time that it is extremely polished and select. Their sentences are expressive, but also filled with a restraint that is a very noticeable trait in the thinking of Guatemala. Nowhere else in Spanish America can one find a group of writers with such a common characteristic. Whether it springs from a long contact with a mute people such as the Indian or whether it comes from an innate dignity or even fear, it is hard to say, but there is no questioning its existence. The Guatemalan is serene in action, little given to flowery rhetoric, and possesses an almost Gallic sense of calm consideration. This is an odd quality in a nation so Spanish as Guatemala, whose speech is tough and sinuous like that of 16th century Spain.

Guatemala, more than any of the other republics, has been under dictator rule, and submission may be at the bottom of this quality of passivity, but I am inclined to believe that it springs from nobler motives. However, her literature would be stronger if her writers would speak in protest against what they believe to be unjust, but, as has been said before, fear of instant and dire punishment certain to follow has deterred them.

The future of letters in Central America is fair, but unless there is a very material alleviation of the poverty and slavery of the masses, one can expect little. In all the republics except Costa Rica and until the overthrow of Ubico recently, dictators held absolute power and still do. Intellectual freedom is unknown and most writers, for they are liberals, live in fear. In El Salvador no newspaper may be printed until the government censor has examined the complete make-up. Until the pall hanging over freedom of expression is lifted, there can be no literature of world-absoring attention. To the liberal spirits who have produced the few bright gems in the chaff of official back-slappings we owe a debt, for their future is anything but bright.

ON THE VALUE OF SPANISH-AMERICAN POETRY

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I propose, ladies and gentlemen, to consider with you the importance of poetry as a spiritual manifestation of Spanish America. At present we do not have time to evaluate this poetry's development as a work of art, nor to consider the foreign and native elements which have influenced it. We must remember that all Hispano-American poetry serves a double purpose: it not only represents its own country—for example, Mexico—but is equally representative of all the countries which make up what we call Spanish America.

Such an evaluation demands a series of lectures which might carry the following title, reminiscent of the ponderous and precise style of German scholarship: "The origin and development of Spanish-American poetry; its importance to the study of the national spirit which produced it; its aesthetic values; and the place which it occupies in contemporary literary movements."

This imaginary course, to which we have now given a name, presupposes questions dealing with many fields of research, although they are interrelated. Poetic development and contemporary classification belong to literary history. To criticism belongs an estimation of its value as a work of art. And finally, to the more ample fields of aesthetics and national psychology belongs the question of its value as a fundamental expression of the Spanish-American spirit.

It is with this last point that we are at the moment concerned. We can make certain reflexions of a general character which will state, but not resolve, the problem.

Let me repeat: what is the value of Spanish-American poetry as a fundamental expression of the Spanish-American spirit? To answer that question we are faced with innumerable difficulties, the most important being that so far there does not exist a sufficiently complete study of Hispano-American psychology. All of you know the work begun by the French philosopher Alfred Fouillée and extended by the German philosopher Keyserling on the psychology of the main European nations. Besides these volumes there have been innumerable essays, monographs, expositions and countless references in the treatises on the history, culture, and art of these peoples.

Although it is true that Spanish psychology has been studied, we can not use such material because a Spaniard and a Spanish American differ much more than is generally believed. You know the distinctions that exist between the American and the English. A Spaniard and a Spanish American differ much more, I think.

The Spaniards began to change from the time they established themselves in America. The nascent society rested on their shoulders, and they wished to feel worthy of the charge. They copied, with an exaggeration in which concurred novelty, taste, and decorum itself, the environment and manners of the Spanish court. They were more courteous, more ceremonious, than in Spain, and insofar as the circumstances of life in the colony permitted, more pompous and more addicted to culture. Even if the Spaniard had never mixed with the Indian and had been able to maintain himself as an ethnic unity planted in another geographic medium, he would have acquired a new psychological shading, as happens with English groups established outside the British Isles: the Australians, the New Zealanders, and in certain sections the Canadians.

But in America the Spaniards had to live with the indigenous population, an element important because of number, organization and human quality. It was the agitated, living, inevitable background of the new environment, woods that the white man hewed down on arriving—said D. H. Lawrence in his Mexican novel—but the roots of which stayed in the ground and never ceased to sprout. The population was submissive in many places, but difficult, dangerous, or frankly rebellious in others. Life in common with it and the necessity of understanding it, of learning its languages, of educating it, and—in order to obtain greater benefits—of tolerating it and even of adapting himself to its ways of being, accelerated the rhythm of differentiation of the Spaniard in America. Because the aboriginal races always offered a passive resistance, stubborn and at times rancorous, which instead of letting Spanish currents flow freely, in time changed their course. Except in the principal cities, the Peninsular was always in the minority, in the town of his *encomiendas* as well as in the mining centers. This obligatory every-day contact with the indigenous inhabitant had subtle and various influences on the Spaniards. Even today we frequently find Europeans who, after having lived some years in China or India, reveal in their manner, their sensibilities and their vision of the world something of the life of the Orient to the influence of which they believed themselves immune.

But although there is available no complete and systematic study of the psychology of the Spanish-American peoples, we can count nevertheless on plentiful material however widely scattered: fragmentary essays, interesting observations made here and there by foreign critics and travelers, glimpses of true vision in the writings of the Spanish Americans themselves, besides the literary and artistic works in which something of the spirit of Hispano America has been deposited and remains there as a rich residuum. Gathering and assembling all this material, an outline more or less filled out in full can be achieved, a general outline which, although vague in some of its parts, can be still quite accurate. Already many of those who have applied themselves to the study of the life and manners, of the history or the art of Spanish America, have acquired

a *feeling*, have somehow *sensed* our psychology and the broad features of our soul. A few have gone further, being able to distinguish certain spiritual characteristics peculiar to some of our peoples, to the Mexican, for example, the Chilean, the Cuban, the Argentinian, the Peruvian and the Colombian.

Once more let me repeat: is Spanish-American poetry a fundamental expression of the Spanish-American spirit? But, you may well ask, is not poetry always the fundamental expression of the peoples who produce it? Is not Greek poetry essentially Hellenic? Is not English poetry essentially English? Are Pindar and Shelley less important as explanatory mediums of their respective nations than the abundant Spanish-American poets for the understanding of the spirit of our America?

But Pindar and Shelley, important as they are in revealing the psychologies of their nations, are necessarily limited by other art products of their peoples. Let me explain by saying that Pindar is but a facet of Hellenic thought. Besides the testimony of the poet, we must also listen to the testimony of Aristotle, the philosopher, Thucidides, the historian, and Desmosthenes, the political thinker. The same holds true of Shelley whom we must accept along with Bacon, Carlyle, and Hobbes.

This is due to the fact that Greek and English cultures were able to project not along one single line of creative endeavor, but along many lines. Naturally, the more diverse the expression, the less importance any single expression has in the united whole. And take into account that we have chosen two peoples whose poetic productions have been exceptional for abundance and quality. In the cases of France and Germany, countries in which poetry holds a much lower place, any view of French and German psychology which does not take poetry into account, might be incomplete but not necessarily false.

In Spanish America, however, poetry occupies so high a place that any evaluation which omits it must be false. I am not saying that Hispano America lacks philosophers, novelists, dramatists or political thinkers, but I do say that the mental make-up of the Spanish American is such that he invariably places more accent upon imagery than realism, upon fantasy than logic. We feel more at our ease in the field of imagination than of reason.

Does this tendency reveal a lack of development or maturity, an inability to think in direct and practical forms of expression? Certainly not. The only result is a higher proportion of poetry than factual material.

Let me remind you that it is very easy to elaborate a theory, on the surface brilliant but fundamentally false, to explain this situation. Let us say, for example, that in the infancy of a people, poetry has always been the natural and predominant expression. Minds incapable of grasping abstract terms must use imagery. We then arrive at the conclusion that since the Spanish-American peoples have merely four hundred years

of existence, they are still in an infancy which demands poetry in place of pure thought.

I think that such a theory—which we can easily reinforce with a variety of facts which appear to do it justice—does not satisfy any of us. Spaniards were not in cultural infancy when they conquered America. And neither were the Aztecs, the Mayas, nor the Incas. The relics of the indigenous races which covered a zone stretching from Mexico through Central to South America present irrefutable proof that there existed an art not only at the height of its development but already showing the refinements of decadence.

The fact that the social and political organizations of some of the Spanish-American peoples have suffered reversals and retrogressions through various social crises certainly can not be taken as manifestations of primitiveness. As the recent history of Germany teaches us, political order is not always proof of a cultured civilization. We can not deny that Hispano America has lived through great historical upheavals, from which many countries have not yet emerged; but these disturbances have their roots in the past, in the political and social organizations of the natives as well as Spanish colonial policy.

It is now some years since reasoning has been compelled to share with other less systematic forms of thought what used to be held as indisputably its exclusive domain. The philosophers have undertaken to seek and to find in the accomplishments and in the inspirations of the poets and artists in general those subtle lines by which they may be aided in fixing their thought in those points that frequently escape reason. The truth is as a landscape that can be viewed from many different standpoints. The most ancient and respectable was the standpoint which reason offered. But there are others from which perspectives are to be discovered which reason was unable to descry.

If, in order to maintain the distinction which Shelley established in his famous essay, we say that poetry is the expression of imagination, and if—though this would be oversimplification—we separate fields that in reality adjoin one another and present overlapping outlines, we will be able to say that imagination and reason are not only two ways, two manners of viewing the world but also two paths leading equally rightly to the knowledge of truth.

The more subtle approach of the poet and artist was needed to set up thought trends for Reason to analize. José Vasconcelos, the Mexican philosopher, contends that "since emotion embraces more than intelligence, it is necessary to assign it to a place of honor as an instrument of knowledge." "Shall we," he continues, "put all faith in the empiricism of forms and none in the evidence of emotion?"

It is this natural tendency in us to concede major value to fantasy that has given our poetry its important literary expression. We have made it so important that twice in two centuries has Spanish America become the

center of poetry written in Spanish. The first time was at the end of the seventeenth century when, after 1681, with the death of Pedro Calderón de la Barca, there did not exist in Spain a single poet who could equal in technical perfection, in force and sincerity of inspiration, the Mexican nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. The second time occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century with the appearance of the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, one of the highest peaks, if not the highest, in the mountain range of poetry of the Spanish-speaking peoples of the world.

Waves of men have created the history and the American soul. In the sixteenth century, the conquistadors—amongst them Pizarro, Jiménez de Quesada, Almagro, Núñez de Balboa (he and not Cortés "silent upon a peak in Darien"), Valdivia, Alvarado, and, above all, Hernán Cortés. Later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the liberators: San Martín, Morelos, Miranda (who struggled also for the independence of the United States), Sucre, Artigas, O'Higgins, and the great Simón Bolívar. And finally the poets: Gutiérrez Nájera, Julián del Casal and José Asunción Silva opened in the inspirational procession followed by Díaz Mirón, Santos Chocano, Ricardo Jaimes Freyere, Amado Nervo, Lugones, Guillermo Valencia, and the towering Rubén Darío. All of them were born between 1850 and 1875, and died, with the exception of the first three, in this century.

These men and their followers created that movement called *modernismo*, the most important literary manifestation in Spanish America. Notwithstanding all it owes in its birth and development to Victor Hugo and Musset, to Baudelaire and the Parnassians, to Verlaine, Mallarmé and Laforgue, and all it gathered from Zorrilla and Bécquer and even Núñez de Arce, and all the inspiration it drew from archaic Spanish forms and sources other than French (Edgar Allan Poe, Giovanni Pascoli and Stefan George); in spite of everything it loaned afar or near that was alien to Spanish America, the *modernismo* is an authentic lyrical expression of the Spanish-American soul. Its taste for refined form, which in the legion of its imitators was taken as the sole end of the movement, and its dignity and composure in emotion, which was often held to be or was interpreted as Parnassian coldness, are the two great axes on which we can draw the spiritual outline of the Spanish-American peoples. And there is not a single country of ours where these two directives, imposed by the lyrical fashion of the century, have not produced one or more poets of importance.

The poetical current at the middle of the nineteenth century fixed the terms that made possible the birth of Spanish-American *modernismo*, even as the baroque, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, developed the plastic expression in the Spanish colonies of America. In the same manner *gongorismo* gave in its epoch and later the medium for a poetic expression that reaches down to the early days of independence, and which, besides many an attempt of scant value but of a kind of *national* flavour, produced the *First Dream* of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz where those terms

I mention not only are felt to be the poet's very own but—as Vossler has perceived—acquire a greater intensity and depth.

It would be inexact to say that Hispano America developed a lyric poetry during those colonial centuries equivalent to its baroque architecture. But it can be affirmed with justice that the influence of *gongorismo* was prolonged in Spanish America until the beginning of the nineteenth century for the same reasons that fomented the architectural *churrigueresco:* because in both the Hispano-American spirit encountered a form of expression that responded to natural inclinations.

Spanish-American *modernista* poetry can use as a motto that line of Rubén Darío: *"Se juzgó mármol y era carne viva . . . ,"* which translates as "Marble it seemed, yet it was living flesh."

Let us choose from the great modernist poets the most marble-like of them all, the Colombian, Guillermo Valencia. In his own country Baldomero Sanín Cano called him "the alexandrine poet," and Don Antonio Gómez Restrepo said of him that "the world of intimate feeling was foreign to his art." Valencia's work—he produces very few poems—leaves the reader with an impression of luminous material—the smooth and bright perfection of marble. Marble it seemed, yet it was living flesh. This living flesh is found in his poem *Anarkos,* in which is crystallized in poetry a generous encouragement of social justice. There is living flesh in his *Cigueñas blancas,* in spite of the delicate melody and design as exquisite as a Chinese watercolor; and there is living flesh in *Los camellos,* which have the eloquent precision of an ancient bas relief. But these two poems, *Cigueñas blancas* and *Los camellos,* so decorative and harmonious in composition, are true lyrical confessions of the eagerness, the restlessness and pain which envelop the poet, and which he interlaces, almost as though he wished to mask them, in its symbolic lines. The silken profile of that magic white bird evokes calm sorrows: *"En muda admiración, hora tras hora, ni canta, ni respira, ni se mueve,"* sings the poet. Thus the bird, in mute admiration, hour after hour, nor sings, nor breathes, nor moves, yet is rebellious in captivity and generous in freedom. And the camels, that march in the caravan, *"no los alegran ni las sutiles mirras, ni las leonadas pides, ni las volubles palmas, ni el ruido de los claros cascabeles,"* are not amused by "the volatile myrrh, nor the tawny pelts, nor the waving palms, nor the clear ringing of the bells." They seem impassive beasts, but their secret souls shine in their eyes: *"Bebed dolor en ellas, flautistas de Bizancio que amáis pulir el dáctilo al son de las cadenas."* "Drink grief from them, you flautist of Bizantium, who tune your dactyls to the clank of chains."

Valencia saw tragedy in the conflict between olympian form and human emotion. In his art—as in all Spanish-American *modernismo*—we can say that there throbs a "world of intimate feeling," save that, as with the Mexican poet, Salvador Díaz Mirón, the blood must pass through a marble vase to achieve perfection.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, let us make some final comments. If you should ask me in which art form is the Spanish-American soul most fully revealed, I would say to you, in poetry. Popular music and folk songs express certain elements of Hispano America: love, melancholy, and, at times, irony. In the pictorial arts, painting and sculpture, our expression is less pure and less profound, since many Hispanic-American nations have not yet achieved a national art, being altogether dependent upon European models. The novel, the drama, the history are important, but of low artistic quality. In lyric poetry alone have the Spanish-American peoples encountered a method of expression suitable to their most secret thoughts.

Poetry has been developing amongst us since the sixteenth century with the first generation of creoles born on our western earth after the conquest. It developed not only in Spanish but also in native languages, and, during the eighteenth century, in Latin. It developed not only aesthetically, as a work of art, but psychologically as an expression of the mind. This double evolution has been evident in the products of culture and in the folkloric traditions; in the Spanish of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Rubén Darío, the other great moderns; in the primitive poems of the Mayas, the Aztecs and the Incas; in the Latin of the eighteenth century scholars such as in the *Rusticatio Mexicana* of Father Landívar, the religious poem of Father Abad, and the pastoral poetry of Father Alegre. It makes no difference whether the country be large and strong as Brazil, Mexico, the Argentine; or small as Nicaragua, which produced Rubén Darío, Cuba and her José Martí, and Uruguay, home of Julio Herrera y Reissig.

There is no other art expression in Spanish America to compare with lyric poetry as to aesthetic value and production. It is truly a reflection of our spirit. He who would know our soul, must read our poetry. Between the rich and elaborate images appears that which we truly are, what we feel, what moves us, our attitude toward life and death. There are many things for which poetry is the only expression, and we, the Spanish Americans, say them, sometimes well, sometimes not so well, as we were saying them before the arrival of the first Spaniard; as we were saying them during the days of Spain's colonization; as we have been saying them since the days of our independence.

And in the future we will continue to speak through the medium of poetry those thoughts, those emotions which we only know how to say in singing words.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN BRAZILIAN LITERATURE

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I think that it will be much easier for the reader to understand the contemporary trends in the literature of my country if I give him a sketchy outline of our social and literary history.

To speak somewhat facetiously, I venture to say that Brazil was discovered because the good old rich gentlemen of Portugal were badly in need of hot spices to season their food. The problem was to find a short cut to India, the land of spices. On the threshold of the sixteenth century the king of Portugal sent a fleet to that fabulous country; but having been led astray by their own fantasy, by treacherous sea currents, or by some mischievous god, the Portuguese discovered, much to their surprise, a land that was not on their maps, which, by the way, were the most perfect ones of the time. The admiral decided to send some of his men ashore. They were met by the natives, a bunch of copper-colored fellows with high cheekbones, slanting eyes, and impenetrable faces, who received without much fuss the many-colored beads those funny white fellows with long whiskers and queer clothes gave them as a token of friendship. Those sad-faced Indians led a very primitive life. They knew no metals and their tools and weapons were made of polished stone or wood, their condition being more or less like that of prehistoric men.

The Portuguese planted a big wooden cross near the place where they had landed, celebrated mass, and the notary of the fleet sent a letter to his king, describing the wonders and natural beauties of the land, and the peculiarities of its inhabitants. After that the fleet left the unknown land, India bound, and the whole crew, from the cook to the admiral, was convinced that it was just an unimportant little island. About one year later Americo Vespucci, an adventurer and navigator, explored the coast of Brazil and found out it was not an island, but a very big country—a true continent. All the same, Portugal was not moved by the news. Yes, it might be a big country; but it had no gold, silver, or spices. Why waste time with such a white elephant? India was the real stuff; Brazil, just a dream. However, during the following years some foreign pirates disembarked on the Brazilian shores and, willing to hold on to the new land, gold or no gold, Portugal decided to colonize it, sending to its northern coast some ships loaded with government clerks, bankrupt noblemen, artisans, priests and soldiers. They brought no women, and what happened next was only too natural. Interbreeding between Portuguese and Indian women started. The first fire was lit under the Brazilian melting pot.

The social organization of Brazil in the sixteenth century was definitely feudal. The country was divided, rather empirically, into several prov-

inces called *capitanias* which were donated as fiefs to bankrupt Protuguese *fidalgos* who were to rule them as their captains. Only two of those *capitanias* prospered: Pernambuco and São Vicente. The most important figures of the Brazilian society of the period were the *senhores de engenho,* the owners of the sugar mills. They were like feudal barons who administered justice according to their whims and interests. Many of them were cruel and selfish. Their sugar cane plantations prospered, and, when Europe started consuming sugar, they had a wonderful market for their product, and that meant wealth. But the landlords had to face soon a very serious problem: they badly needed workers for the plantations. The Indians were lazy and refused to go to work. I don't blame them. They loved the free, loafing life under the sun; they had been happy and carefree before the coming of the white conquistadors.

The plantation lords decided to send for Negroes from Africa, and slavery began in Brazil. The Negroes entered the melting pot. It was a dark element in the already dusky mixture.

But what about language? Derived from a synthetic language, Portuguese is, notwithstanding, an analytic one. It is very flexible, sonorous, and rich. It has a rather complicated syntax, many irregular verbs, and it is the only language in the world, as far as I am informed, that can boast (I am not sure "boast" should be the word) of having a *personal infinitive.* In Brazil, Portuguese was enriched with Indian words designating mainly things related with geography, fauna, flora, war and weapons, and with African words concerning kitchen utensils, dishes, and things belonging to the realm of black magic, superstition, and the mysterious religions of Africa. The meaning of many words was changed in the new land. There were some mutilations, too, due to the difficulty Negroes and Indians found in reproducing the sounds of that European language. And laziness was responsible for the suppression of many letters.

In the sixteenth century there was no Brazilian literature at all. There were, of course, many letters, essays and poems written on Brazil by foreign writers. And the first written document on Brazil is the delicious letter that Pero Vaz de Caminha, the notary of the discovering fleet, sent to his majesty the king of Portugal. The way he describes in his classic prose the nudity of the Indian women is a mixture of candor and cynicism, mockery and seriousness.

If we are to study the literature of a country, we must not forget the following factors: race, environment, and historical time. But may I say, "Tell me what blood you have in your veins, the place where you live, and the precise time you did your writing, and I will tell you exactly the kind of literature you produced?" Of course not. I believe in the influence of blood and of literary fashions; I am sure of the importance of the climate and even of the shape and color of the landscape we have before our eyes. But there is something more: the individual, and a mysterious and indescribable element for which I find no name.

Brazil has three climatic zones. The largest is tropical, or torrid, and covers about six-tenths of the whole territory. The subtropical zone corresponds to three-tenths, and the temperate zone is no larger than one-tenth of the total area of the country. Brazil has all kinds of landscape: jungle, prairies, rolling fields, plateaus, deserts, big mountains. And, if we examine intently the books which are written nowadays in my country, we shall notice that each region, just as in the United States, has a different kind of literature, that depends somewhat upon climate, tradition, race, landscape, and even upon the kind of economic activity of each section.

But let us go back to the sixteenth century, to the melting pot where there was a race in the making. What did that mixture of Indian, Portuguese and Negro blood mean in terms of trends, passions, psychological traits, qualities, and defects? The Portuguese contributed the simplicity of their brave and good souls, their almost mulish pertinacity, and that romantic feeling they express in a word that has no correspondent in other languages: *saudade.* To feel *saudade* is to miss or to long for somebody or something; it is to be homesick, nostalgic. Sometimes Portuguese, as well as Brazilians feel an absurd *saudade* even for a person they have never seen or for a place they have never been to. As to the Indians, they were sensual and lazy, imaginative and mischievous. The Negroes brought into the melting pot the mournful music and the sense of rhythm of their suffering souls, their cosmic terror, and all the ghosts of the African jungle. The darkies had a great influence in the Brazilian colonial society. The mammies nursed the children of the *fidalgos* and landlords. The Negro boys served as pages to their masters' sons. They were like dark cupids, who ran love errands, and most often they served as ghost-serenaders, singing in the moonlight with their velvet voices passionate songs under the windows of the white *senhoritas.* The mammies told the white boys and girls stories and fables of the African forests. Some of the old medieval tales and legends brought by the Portuguese were retold and disfigured by the negresses, who lent them an African tang. Superstition was little by little being instilled into the soul of the Brazilian younger generation.

A study of the Brazilian folklore is in many ways very illuminating. It may provide us with a magic window opened strategically on the Brazilian literary scene of yesterday as well as of today.

Let us take first the popular poetry. We find in it two main trends: one melancholy and the other frolicsome. At times they alternate in the same poem, in the same quatrain. And the words you find most frequently in the Brazilian popular poetry are: fate, pain, love, sorrow, misfortune, suffering, and tears. I remember a quatrain that says that chance is like a woman, because when she wants us, we don't care; and when we do care, she runs away. "The roses," wrote an anonymous poet, "are beautiful, even if their thorns hurt us, but the truth is that the roses fall, and the thorns remain." "I have seen your footsteps on the sand," sings a

popular poet, "and I started thinking that your figure is so gorgeous that even your footsteps make me cry."

A popular philosopher states bitterly that he who says that he has suffered many kinds of evil is a liar, because there is only one real evil; that is, the evil of ever having been born.

Since colonial times Brazilian literature has been rich in satirical poets like the Spanish Quevedo and the Portuguese Bocage.

We find beauty and color in the Indian legends. One of the most lovely legends I know is that of the origin of the moon:

Once upon a time there was a handsome Indian warrior who every night received in his hammock the visit of an Indian girl whose kisses were sweet and loving. The girl used to come only by night, because her love had a sinful nature, and she did not wish the boy to know who she was. But the young warrior was anxious to discover the identity of the strange visitor, and so he painted his whole body with the black resin of a wild plant; and that night, when the mysterious girl kisses him, her cheeks were spotted with black. Later on, seeing her face mirrored on the surface of a brook and realizing that the spots were indelible, the girl was so distressed and frightened that she decided to flee. She shot many arrows into the air, and they formed a ladder which she climbed and climbed until Tupan, the god of gods, changed her into the moon. That is why the white face of the moon has dark spots. And since that fateful day, the Queen of the Night has never lost the habit of looking down to the mirror of the waters to see if her face still has the frightful marks of sin.

The imagination of the natives peopled the jungle with many goblins and devils. There was the Curupira, a perverse fellow who used to lead men astray in order to suck their blood. He looked like a small Indian, with green teeth and with his feet turned backwards. There was also the Caapora, or Caipora, a hairy giant with a sad face who used to appear commanding a herd of wild boars. If you met him in the jungle, you had bad luck for the rest of your life. Unto this very day, when a person has bad luck, we say in Brazil: "You are *caipora*, my friend." Another goblin who is very popular is the Sací-Pererê, a kind of Brazilian counterpart of the English Puck. The Sací is a naked Negro midget who smokes a clay pipe and who has on his bald head a bright red cap. He has only one leg, a protruding stomach and no teeth at all. He likes to frighten people, chiefly children, and to set cattle and horses into panic.

But the real hero of the Indian fables is the *jabotí*, a kind of small turtle. He is a quiet, slow-moving fellow with a philosophic mind. He likes to play the flute, and he has a permanent feud with the jaguar. In the long run the *jabotí* wins, because he is a smart guy, because he knows how to play ball with the other animals and how to use time for his own benefit. And it is very interesting to observe that even today Brazilian hero-worship does not center about the warrior, the explorer, the tough fighter, but

about the Bohemian, the smart fellow. The main character of Brazilian jokes of today is the parrot, a congenial rascal, a colorful rogue.

There is a fable of African origin which tells us the story of the jaguar that asked the cat to teach him how to jump. In a few lessons the cat taught the jaguar all his tricks. After the last lesson they decided to take a walk together, and presently the cat, who was hungry, saw a mouse passing by and pounced on the little creature. The jaguar, who was hungry too, took advantage of the situation and jumped on the cat—only to have the greatest disappointment of his life, because the master, with the rapidity of lightning, jumped backwards, and the jaguar, missing him, fell squarely on the ground. "That is not fair," complained the big animal. "You did not teach me that trick!" The cat smiled quietly and said: "A good teacher never teaches all his tricks, my friend."

Brazilian colonial society prospered the way all feudalistic organizations generally did; that is to say, the barons were growing richer and richer, whereas the serfs went underpaid, underfed, underclothed—in a word, true to their condition of underdogs. The system of *capitanias* had failed, and now the country had only one central government. Slavery was going on beautifully, and more and more Negroes were coming from Africa. The Brazilian melting pot was boiling incessantly.

Classicism was reborn in Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, and its rather cold light flooded the whole of the next century. But soon its marmoreal and dignified simplicity began to bore writers. They needed something more sophisticated. They wanted a change, and that was the beginning of a literary fashion which dominated the seventeenth century. In England it had the name of euphuism. In France it was described with the adjective *précieux*. Since in Spain the high priest of the new school was the poet Góngora, it took there the name of gongorism.

From 1580 to 1640 Portugal was under the political domination of Spain; and so it was only too natural that gongorism should influence Portuguese writers, infecting also the young Brazilians who were studying law at the University of Coimbra. Who were those young men? Just the sons of the wealthy plantation owners of Recife and Bahia. So when they went back to their country, where many of them became writers, they carried with them the seeds of gongorism, which germinated easily in Brazil. That is why we find there, in the seventeenth century, a kind of literature completely imitative.

During the previous century the Brazilian seaboard had been attacked by French and English pirates, but only in 1630 did the country have to face the first real invasion. The Dutch "Company of the Western Indies" sent a powerful fleet to attack northern Brazil. Having succeeded in the second attempt, they landed in Recife, and their domination lasted about thirty years. During that long period the natives, following the guerrilla technique, fought the invaders wildly and finally managed to expel them from their country. Now they had suffered, toiled, fought together, all

of them—white, brown, black, and copper-colored men. For the first time they were thinking or acting in terms of a common cause, a common flag and a common country. That is the stuff nations are made of.

While those dramatic scenes were being staged in the northern part of the country, the southern pioneers were busy conquering the frontier, exploring new lands, in search of gold, silver and precious stones.

Meanwhile Brazilian literature remained untouched, unsoiled by the rough facts of life. It was academic, conventional and imitative.

There is a figure in Brazilian colonial literature who deserves being mentioned. It is Gregório de Mattos, a satiric and at the same time a lyric poet. He was the first native voice to be heard in Brazilian literature, the first writer to use some national slang in his poetry, and to translate into poetic language some of the feelings of the people—chiefly when he satirized the "rascals of Portugal," exposing the Portuguese *fidalgos* for their grafting, vanity, and stupidity.

With the defeat of the Dutch, the so-called "cycle of defense" was ended in Brazil, and the "cycle of expansion" began. The pioneers were more active than ever before, and, having discovered gold, they contributed to the change in the entire life of the nation. There was a gold rush toward the central and western part of the land, and as a result of such a migration, the political and economic center of Brazil was dislocated from the north to the province that for too obvious reasons was to be called Minas Geraes, "general mines." Boom villages sprouted everywhere in the gold and diamond districts, and a new kind of society was born around the mines.

The gongorist influence still persisted and the shadow of Camoes still obsessed many of the poets of the period. But the most important literary group in the time of the gold rush—the *Escola Mineira*—was beginning to be influenced by French ideas and ideals.

Rousseau with his "Social Contract" and Diderot with his "Encyclopedia" had paved the way which would lead to the French revolution. Diderot used to say that "freedom seems to be the spirit of our century." Writers and artists had reacted against classicism and gongorism. They were falling in love with nature, turning their eyes lyrically to the noble savage. They praised the shepherds and their rustic life. They painted country landscapes, wrote verses full of dewy meads, murmuring brooks and shapely nymphs. Rousseau invited the people to go back to good old Mother Nature, and Voltaire declared that when he read Rousseau he "felt like walking on all fours." The Brazilian poets of the gold district group accepted Rousseau's invitation and wrote poems according to the precepts of Arcadianism. And taking to the letter the French revolutionary ideals, they took part in a conspiracy to proclaim the independence of Brazil. The plot failed and what happened next to those literary conspirators was something utterly different from their Arcadian dreams.

So we arrive at the end of one more century. Looking backwards, we see many interesting facts in Brazilian life. The wars against the invaders had awakened in the people a feeling of patriotism. The ruthlessness of the Portuguese tax collectors in the gold and diamond districts had led their inhabitants to a real craving for freedom. The first seeds of rebellion from the French Revolution had started to reach Brazil, brought by young men who had studied at the University of Coimbra, in Portugal. The first booklets, pamphlets, and bulletins packed with revolutionary ideas began to circulate secretly. The rivalry between Brazilians and Portuguese was increasing and had originated many armed clashes. The fate of the country was foreshadowed. But its writers were still under the spell of European literary fashions.

When romanticism became known in Brazil through the writings of Chateaubriand and Mme. de Staël, the Brazilians were sure they had now the real thing. Romanticism was a garment especially made for the Brazilian soul. It fitted it like a glove. Now poets and prosists were allowed to tell their readers all about their sufferings, doubts and passions. They could lend color and glory and a universal meaning to their own ailments, especially when they had some lung disease.

Something else tremendously helped romanticism to spread in Brazil. It was the press. When the first romantic writings appeared, Brazilians already had their own newspapers. They had something else: a bank, a public library, a museum, an academy of fine arts, some book stores and—a king! Yes, a king. Fleeing from Napoleon's soldiers, who had invaded Portugal, the Portuguese court had come to Rio, and now Prince Joao had been crowned king of Portugal and Brasil, and Rio had lost its colonial status to become the metropolis of an empire. It was a time for enterprise and big business. The ports were opened to all friendly nations. English capital was entering the country. Now the Brazilian writers had newspapers to print their articles. Now they could even have their books published at home!

One fine day Dom Joao went back to Portugal, leaving in Rio, as regent prince, his impetuous, unstable and quick-tempered young son Pedro. Jealous of the privileges Brazil had acquired from having been the site of the court, the Portuguese statesmen tried to weaken their wealthy and promising colony by dividing its provinces and by discouraging Brazilians in their dreams of progress and independence. Sandwiched between the traditional Portuguese party that wanted Brazil to stay forever as a colony of Portugal and the strong native party that contemplated the independence of the country, Pedro did what was expected from a romantic, youthful prince. He joined the ranks of the patriots, and in 1822 he proclaimed the independence of Brazil, becoming her first emperor.

Most of the Brazilian writers of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century had contributed with their articles, books and speeches to the campaign for the liberation of their fatherland.

Romanticism was only ten years old in Brazil when Pedro I abdicated in favor of his minor son Pedro, who was crowned the second emperor of Brazil when he was only fourteen years old. Under Pedro II the country had almost fifty years of peace and progress. It was really a romantic and colorful empire. A learned man who loved art and literature, and who used to write sonnets, Pedro II was the friend of many of the American and European celebrities of his time. Latin America has never had a more democratic president than the second emperor of Brazil. Pedro used to give public audiences; he shook hands with the man in the street; he gave titles and decorations to artists, scientists, and men of letters; he encouraged such men as Pasteur and Graham Bell; and he was very proud of being a friend of Victor Hugo. He gave the nation many schools, stimulated immigration (Germans, Italians, Poles, etc., entered the Brazilian melting pot for the first time during the Second Empire), developed the Brazilian merchant fleet and tried to organize the navy. Fifteen years after he took over the government, Brazil got her first railroads. But in the big house of that old lovable gentleman there was a horrible skeleton in the cupboard: slavery. He wanted to free the slaves, but in his poet's timidity he feared to lose the support of the aristocracy of the land, the plantation owners, who were the mainstay of the empire.

In the shadow of such an intelligent and understanding emperor, romantic poets and prosists blossomed in Brazil. The ghost of Lamartine, Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo haunted the writings of most of those literati. The most significant poet of the first period of romanticism in Brazil was Gonçalves Dias, who fell in love with nature and the natives, becoming indianist. He chanted the feats of the Indian warriors, and described passionately the beauties of the land.

Romantic poets sprouted everywhere in Brazil like mildew in a damp, closed room. This botanical image is not so purposeless as it may seem at first sight, because most of the poetry produced at that time in my country had a parasitical and rather unhealthy quality. It lacked sun, joy of living and fresh air.

The greatest figure of the whole romantic period was Castro Alves, the first of our socially conscious poets. He had human understanding and pity. He had a sense of brotherhood, and he turned his eyes to the chronic and ever bleeding wounds of the slaves, and made himself the champion of abolitionism. I think he may be regarded as a link between romanticism and realism.

When the propaganda for abolitionism gained momentum in Brazil, hand in hand with the propaganda for the republic, only a reduced number of men of letters took interest in both issues. Among them there were two young and eloquent tribunes: Ruy Barbosa and Joaquim Nabuco. The literati remained in their ivory towers, with their eyes turned toward Europe and to purely aesthetical problems.

With romanticism we had in Brazil our first novels. A pioneer in the field of fiction is Joaquim M. Macedo, whose stories were naive and improbable. A fine, colorful prosist, and a man of resourceful imagination, José de Alencar may be considered top-ranking among the Brazilian storytellers of all time. He was an indianist, and in many of his books the influence of Chateaubriand is strongly felt.

During the romantic era in Brazil our authors in the field of biography, history and criticism were few and not very brilliant.

In 1888 Princess Isabel signed a decree abolishing slavery in Brazil, while her royal father was in Europe visiting with celebrities and sightseeing. One year later the republic was proclaimed in Brazil without blood shed.

In Europe Flaubert had planted the mark of naturalism with his famous novel *Mme. Bovary*. People were reading Proudhon, Michelet and Quinet. They knew Hegel's theories, Comte's sociology, Darwin's ideas on evolution. They were in love with science. Writers now were concerned with the observed fact, the human document in a word, with truth.

Aluízio de Azevedo was the first Brazilian novelist of note in the field of naturalism. Less cruel in his realism, rather reticent in matters of sex, Machado de Assis—bitter, ironical, composed, cultured—is perhaps the best novelist who ever wrote in the Portuguese language. He was the first Brazilian writer who read Swift and Sterne. He created a style. He is unique.

The French masters of naturalism who most strongly influenced Brazilian writers were Daudet, the brothers Goncourt, and Zola. The influence of the latter was so infectious that in Brazil he had not only disciples, but imitators.

Contemporary with naturalism, the literary fashion that dominated Brazil after romanticism, was parnassianism—whose idolized gods were Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Banville, Gautier, and Coppée. A brilliant but not very strong symbolistic movement followed under the influence of such French writers as Rimbaud, Mallarme and Verlaine.

The detached cynicism which pervaded the atmosphere at the end of the previous century invaded the new one. The influence of the Portuguese novelist Eca de Queiroz was very clear on many of the Brazilian writers. But that of Oscar Wilde, the Goncourts, Anatole France and D'Annunzio was no less conspicuous.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, a group of poor and ignorant folk gathered in the backlands of Brazil around a man known as Antônio Conselheiro, who was said to work miracles. The Counselor's men started highway robbery, and they also plundered ranches and villages to get money and materials to build their temples. In his long and dark tunic the somber "Prophet of the Blacklands" announced the end of the world and promised his mob a better life in heaven. The government sent federal troops, fully equipped with rifles and cannons, to fight the rebels,

and after many unsuccessful expeditions and at the cost of heavy casualties, they managed at last to overcome the barbaric citadel.

While that sinister drama was being staged in the backlands, the Brazilian writers, with very few exceptions, showed a supreme unconcern toward national problems. Some of them were childishly in love with the mother tongue and kept playing with words. There were others who tried to imitate Flaubert, Zola or the Goncourts. Europe was their meat, France their spiritual country, and Paris their favorite city.

Toward the close of the year 1902, Euclides de Cunha published his book *Os Sertôes,* which contained a very serious and profound study of the hinterland—its fauna, flora, geography, climate, geology and ethnology—together with an unusually honest and vigorous report on that civil war. The book was the work of an artist as well as of a scientist. It sounded like a tremendous libel, and after its publication, many of the literati who had their eyes turned toward Europe and who were concerned merely with aesthetic problems left their ivory towers and stepped down to the good old earth—writing regional books, essays and stories whose heroes were country folk and whose landscapes were native, as native were, too, their problems, conflicts and passions.

The republic was going on very well, thank you. We had had good and had presidents, riots and debates, hopes and deceptions. The country was full of tremendously difficult problems, and most of the government officials, ministers and politicians tried to hide behind a curtain made of high-sounding, florid words the simple and very human fact that what they really wanted was to hold on to their positions, and go lavishing favors on friends, relatives and proteges. Red tape had increased tremendously. Brazilians had taken too much to the letter the saying according to which Brazil was the land of the future, and they had started getting loans from abroad at high interest, and they invested those funds badly and never knew how to repay them.

The attitude of the intellectuals was one of pessimism. The old generation professed a nineteenth century synicism. As a matter of fact, they *were* still in the nineteenth century. The middle generation assumed a very curious attitude: they seemed to hint, under the influence of certain European writers, that they belonged to "the lost generation emerged from the trenches of the World War."

Monteiro Lobato, a clever sarcastic writer, created a national symbol. It was Jeca Tatú (Joe Armadillo), a hillbilly, a poor creature who was always squatting lazily. He was an illiterate; he hated the idea of working; and if he did not starve to death, it was only because he could stretch his slow skinny arm and pick up the fruits that grew wild on the trees around his poor-looking self.

In 1922, a group of writers and artists in Sao Paulo held the famous meetings known in the annals of Brazilian literature as "The Week of Modern Art." Influenced by Marinetti, Blaise Cendrars and Jean Cocteau,

and irritated by the impassibility of the academicians and the ineptitude of the big shots of the art world, they decided to lay the foundation of a new art more expressive of their country and their time. Among the leaders of the new revolutionary movement were Mario and Oswald de Andrade. Carlos Drummond de Andrade published his famous poem, "In the Middle of the Road," which today is considered a kind of classic of the modern school. Here it is:

In the middle of the road there was a stone
there was a stone in the middle of the road
there was a stone
in the middle of the road there was a stone.
I will never forget that event
in the life of my so very tired retina
I will never forget that in the middle of the road
there was a stone
there was a stone in the middle of the road
in the middle of the road there was a stone.

"But that young fellow is stark mad!" came from the opposing literary camp. "That so-called poem is pure schizophrenia!" The *modernistas* hurled back: "That's a sound psychological poem. It is the drama of obsessing ideas."

The *modernistas* were intoxicated with the idea of destruction. The initial phase of their movement was purely destructive. They wrote poems without meter or rhyme, with the visible intention of shocking formal writers and readers. Almost all of them were humoristic and rather obscure.

When the period of destruction ended, writers and artists tried to build up something solid upon the ruins of the old school. Gone were the days of humorous reparteé, liberties and irreverences. The generation of the late twenties was no longer academic and conventional, but at the same time it had few vestiges of the early futuristic extremisms. The new poets and novelists had learned that language is only a means of expression, and not an end in itself, and that true poetry does not depend solely on the pure beauty of words.

Many of the best poetic talents of the country adhered to the new school. But there was a feeling of unrest in the air, a feeling that something was going to happen. The modernist nucleus was about to split. The first years of the new school had in many ways been just a joyful play on words. Times had changed. The revolution of modern times was beginning to be felt in South America. Artists and writers were now conscious of their social responsibility. There were many serious and urgent problems, both material and moral, clamoring for solution. They felt they could no longer remain on the side lines of social debate and events. People had begun to wonder what was really happening inside Russia. Many thought of Lenin's country with awe, others with fascination. There were poverty, illiteracy, and bad health among the

lower classes in Brazil. The intellectuals felt that something had to be done. They were reading communist and fascist authors. They were looking to the left and to the right, in search of a solution, and not few among them were looking upward, to heaven, to God.

In my opinion the modernist movement was a kind of crossroads whence originated the multiple roads of the Brazilian literary scene of today. Of these various roads (some of them are just bypaths) I consider only three to be really important. One of them took the direction of the left with Oswald and Mario de Andrade, who were socalists and put a great emphasis on the importance of the economic factor in social life. The second road led to God, via the Vatican, under the influence of some French neo-Catholic writers. The leftists thought the crisis was chiefly economic; for the neo-Catholic the whole thing was a question of lack of faith. As to the third road, it was a later prolongation of the second one toward the extreme right, to fascism.

A revolution in 1930 sent Getulio Vargas to the presidency of Brazil. It was a movement—they said—to end dictatorship, corruption and grafting. Later on some counter-revolutions followed, but all of them failed. In 1934 Vargas gave the country a liberal constitution, but in 1937 he abolished that constitution, closed the Congress and the House, and denied freedom to the press. He dissolved all political parties, including the fascist, and had a new constitution made according to his own purposes. To do that he counted on the support of the army, and the main reason alleged for such an extreme measure was the necessity of avoiding extremes; that is to say, the danger of communism or of fascism.

All those disturbances in Brazil prior to 1939 were followed by periods of suspicion, unrest, and strict censorship. I need not say that censorship is ruinous to literature. From 1930 to 1936 the harvest in the field of fiction had been unusually rich, especially in novels describing with stark realism, in the vein of Caldwell's *Tobacco Road,* the real living conditions of the Brazilian lower classes. But from 1937 on it declined, if not in quantity, at least in quality. I am sure that the reason for such an impoverishment is mainly political.

If I had to sum up in one short sentence the main trends of Brazilian literature today, I would say that it oscillates between two poles: God and the underdog. What I mean by such an oversimplified classification is that poets and story-tellers in my country are either preoccupied with the destiny of the soul, with sin and the ultimate meaning of existence, or concerned with the living conditions of the poor classes, and with social justice. The result is two different kinds of literature: one subjective and the other objective—one rather metaphysical, walking in the realm of mystery; the other positively physical, concerned with the "human document," and having in many cases political implications. Not seldom you find subjective and religious writers worrying about social problems, and leftist poets and prose writers with spirtualistic tendencies.

To give the reader an idea of the contemporary trends in Brazilian poetry, I will introduce to them two distinguished Brazilian poets, Jorge de Lima and Murillo Mendes. Their poetry is a mixture of Biblical allegories (mainly in the style of the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes) Freudian symbols, and surrealist images. Jorge de Lima decided to "restore poetry in Christ," and his catholicism is sometimes a quaint combination of voodoo and surrealism. Murillo Mendes at times strikes me as a combination of Salvador Dali, Saint John the Evangelist and D. H. Lawrence. Love and eroticism, with its anatomical correspondences—womb, breasts, hips, legs, lips—and such analogical ideas as virginity, birth, pain, penetration, occur very frequently in his poems. Angles and archangels people the impresesive verses of Murillo Mendes, and sometimes they mix with airplanes or drive fast automobiles through timeless heaven.

Another remarkable poet, Manuel Bandeira, mixes tenderness and irony in his verses. Suffering from tuberculosis, far from trying to conceal his ailment, he makes fun of it, writing, not seldom on hemoptyses and pneumothoraxes. In one of his poems you find the following dialogue between doctor and patient:

> "So, Doctor, is it not possible to try a pneumothor ax?
> "No. The only thing to do is to have an Argentine tango played."

Augusto Frederico Schmidt, considered by many a critic the best modern poet in Brazil, is also a man who follows Claudel, Péguy and Maritain.

Among some leftist poets, the influence of Federico García Lorca is neatly visible.

The novel has had a tremendous development in Brazil in the last fifteen years. It is very curious to observe that Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money* had a very definite influence on many Brazilian novelists of the early thirties, who were reading also the Sovietic writers in bad Spanish translations smuggled from Argentina or Uruguay. Jorge Amado, one of our best novelists of today, is said to be the Brazilian Hemingway, but I am sure that the influence of the American writer on the work of his South American colleagues is negligible or perhaps even non-existent. Amado is an elemental writer, like Jack London. He is unsophisticated, he loves the underdog, he has a special liking for the Negro, and he calls a spade a spade. In his admirable *Jubiabá* you detect some influence of Sovietic films, and of a scene of the Hollywood-made picture "Halleluiah." As to style, Amado seems to be free from any influence.

Another novelist of note is Graciliano Ramos, whose first novel follows the Eca de Queiroz tradition, but whose recent stories reveal a mature and solid writer, one of the best of his or any other generation. You may say that the ghosts of Gogol and Dostoievsky sometimes pass through his sombre books.

José Lins do Rego, whose novels smell of the Brazilian earth, is said to have been influenced by Thomas Hardy, which I don't think is true. I know that he admires Hardy, but you hardly could find a ghost of an English accent in the Brazilian prose of Lins do Rego. His style is personal, his characters are true to life, and his books have a high social significance.

Lúcio Cardoso has the sense of drama, and his books make me think of a cross between Julien Green and François Mauriac. One of our critics saw in him a potential Dostoievsky.

If you ask me who are the foreign writers most widely read by the Brazilian writers of today, I would answer that the leftists love Romain Rolland and André Malraux, and read Ilya Ehrenburg, Hemingway (with whom sometimes they violently disagree), Steinbeck and some Sovietic writers. Those who take to the psychological novel stick to Proust, Joyce, Kafka and François Mauriac and Julien Green. Aldous Huxley is widely read in Brazil today, and the influence of Katherine Mansfield has been very strong on many young writers of fiction. Somerset Maugham is somewhat despised by the "psychological writers," who consider him shallow, and by the socially conscious novelists, who think he lives in an ivory tower, indifferent to political and social issues. Gide has many admirers among the high-brows.

I must say that the contemporary literature of Brazil shows some signs of independence and maturity. After four centuries of imitation and escapism, our writers have discovered Brazil. They are trying hard to understand that geographical and human puzzle. They are determined to do their best in order to solve our most grave social problems. I hope they will succeed. As a matter of fact, I know they will. They are young, clever and brave. And we all know that, after all, God was born a Brazilian. . . .